





Continuation  
O F  
REFLECTIONS  
O N  
Mr. VARILLAS's  
*History of Heresies.*  
Particularly on that which Relates to  
ENGLISH AFFAIRS.

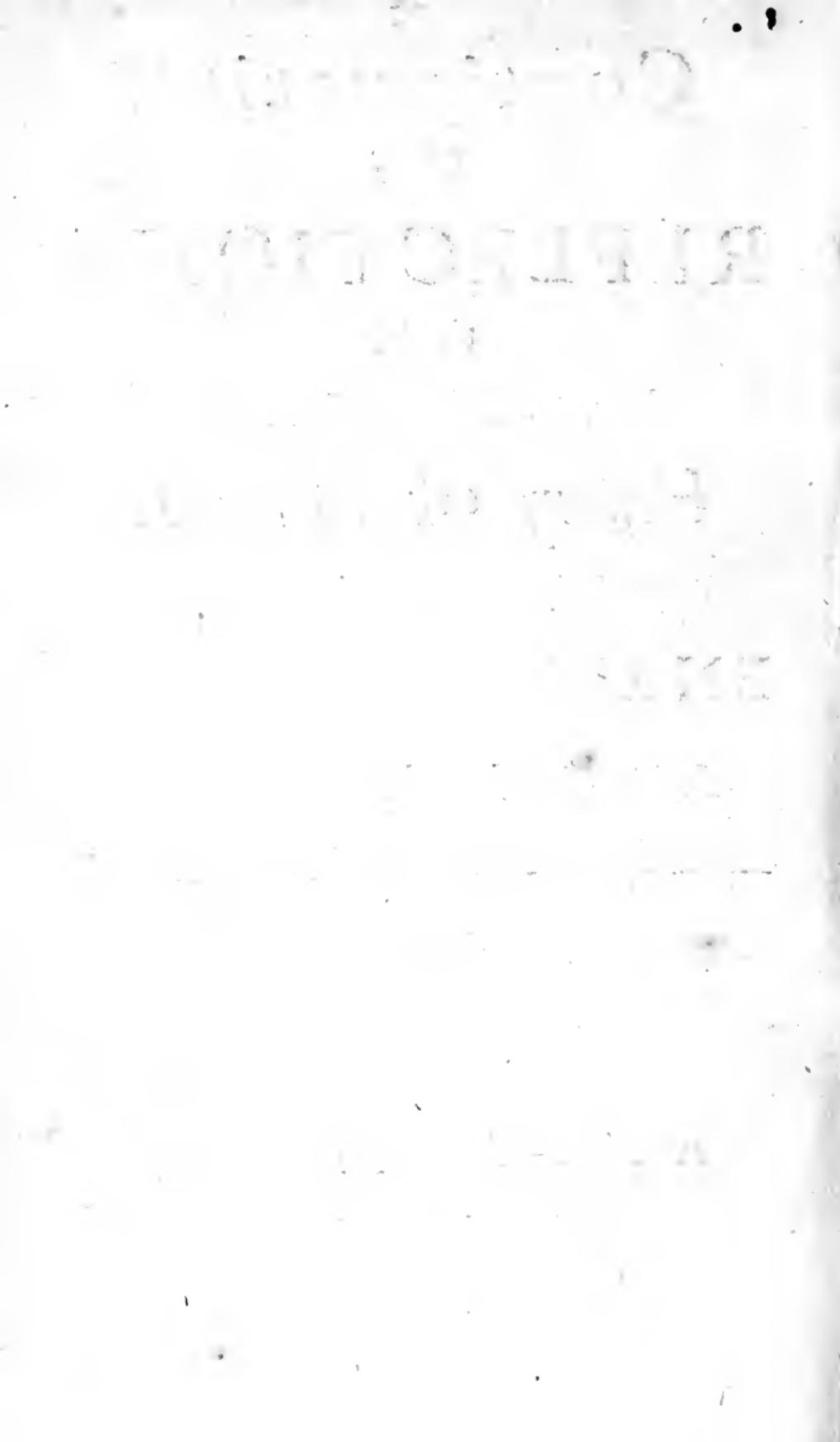
*In his Third and Fourth Tomes.*

---

By G. BURNET. DD.

---

AMSTERDAM,  
Printed for J. S.  
1687.



# P R E F A C E.

ALL that is necessary to be said in the way of a *Preface to these Reflections*, is, that the References made here to Mr. *Varillas's History*, are according to the *Paris Edition*; these *Reflections* were writ before the *Dutch Edition* appeared, otherwise the *Pages* should have related to both, according to the one and the other: This will be some Inconvenience to those who have only the latter: But since I was resolved to attack

# P R E F A C E.

Mr. *Varillas* in an *Edition*, for which he was accountable; and to do it with such expedition, that his Book might have as little time to do Mischief as was possible. I hope the Reader will forgive me the Trouble to which he is put, in seeking out the Places on which I make my *Reflections.*

G. BURNET.

---

R E-

# REFLECTIONS

On that which relates to  
ENGLISH AFFAIRS,  
In the *third* and *Fourth* Volum of  
Mr. *Varillas's History of Heresies.*

**M**R. *Varillas* thinks, that all his Imaginations are matters of such Importance, that they deserve to be presented to the *King*; and because *Panegyricks* are things acceptable to *Princes* as well as to all other men, he it seems has projected one; and that we may judge of the piece by a pattern, he lets the *King of France* know, That he has found out two extraordinary Subjects for the enriching that Master-piece of his Eloquence, which perhaps he has in design, that when the quality of an Historian fails him, yet his appointments may be continued to him as the Kings *Panegyrist*. But if one expects common things, he is much mistaken: for as Mr. *Varillas* has told us,

B

that

## 2 Reflections on the Third & Fourth

that he loves to rise above the *Vulgar* ; so he has found out a Topick for his *Masters* praise, on which no man would ever have thought besides himself : some have compared the *King* to *Alexander the Great*, and others to *Augustus* ; some to *Trajan*, and others to *Charles the Great* : In short, all that is most eminent in Ancient or Modern *History*, has been brought forth to raise his *Glory* : but no body before Mr. *Varillas* thought, that it would raise the *King's* Character much, to give him the preference to a *Woman* : yet since he thought that stroke was wanting to make a compleat *Panegyrick*, one would have expected to have seen some of the Chief of the Sex brought out, a *Semiramis*, a *Zenobia*, or for all her *Heresie* a *Queen Elizabeth*, had made the comparison less odious : but to set the short and despised Reign of a *Princess*, that drew on her self the Aversion of her *Husband*, and the contempt of all her *People*, in any sort of comparison with *Lewis le Grand*, is a *sublime* becoming our Author. But as the comparison and the preference is a strain a little

too

too humble for the present *Reign*, so the two points on which this part of his piece of *Oratory* is to be enlarged, are mistakes of such a nature, that I do not know how a man could contrive it to put two such conspicuous ones in so remarkable a part of his *Book*.

The one is, that *Queen Mary* satisfied her self with the re-establishing of the *Catholick Religion* in her *Dominions*, without endeavouring to destroy the *Calvinists*: whereas *His Majesty* has not stopt half way, as that *Princess* did: and here he trys the full strength of his *Sublime* to set forth the *Kings Glory* in his extirpating *Heresie*. But one would be tempted to ask *Mr. Varillas*, whether he has ever read the History of that *Queens Reign* or not: for by his way of writing, one is disposed to believe, that he knows not yet what her *Reign* will be when he comes to write it: he has not yet made her *Character*: he thought softness became the *Sex*; so it seems he will represent her gentle and feeble in all her actings: and it must be so, otherwise the *Panegyrick* will be quite spoiled; but what

will our *Author* say when he finds there were two hundred eighty four *burnt* by her: That *She* was not satisfied with all the *Laws* that had been anciently made against *Heresie*, nor with executing them with a rigour that had nothing of the softness of her *Sex* in it: *Bishops* and other *Churchmen* being put in prison long before those severe *Laws* were made, and kept there till there should be colour in *Law* to make them *Sacrifices* to the *Zeal* of the *Priests*: *She* was apt enough to shew *Mercy* on all other occasions, but was never guilty of any towards *Heretics*: she gave *Commissions* that came very near the Courts of *Inquisition*; and besides the *Evidences* of those that I have given in my *History*, I have since that time seen a Register

*Ex Mss. D. Petyt.* of the Earl of *Sussex*'s Letters, and in it there is a Secret Article of the Directions that the *Queen* sent him, in which he is ordered to have two or three Spies in every Parish, who should be engaged by Oath to observe and discover every mans behaviour, and upon whose Informations

mations men were to be examined and punished, without discovering the Informers: this was to act in the Spirit of an *Inquisition*; all the difference was, that Lay-men had still the management of it, who have naturally Bowels and Compassions, which is defaced by the indelible Character. The *Queen* set on the Persecution with so much rigour, that she her self writ Letters to animate even the bloodiest of all the Bishops, *Bonner*, if at any time Compassion softned his Spirit a little. There were eight, ten, and thirteen sometimes burning all in one Fire, neither Age nor Sex made any difference, and the Cripple and the Blind were burnt at the same Stake. Now I do not deny but Galleys and Dungeons, and a Butcher-like *De Rapine* of *Valence*, are really dreadfuller things, than a quick end of ones misery, tho by Fire: yet so many Fires had more lustre, and lookt more terrible; so this part of the *Panegyrick* will fail *Mr. Varillas*, and he will find that *Queen Mary* had the better of his *Monarch*. It is true, great numbers seemed to comply in *Q. Mary's* time, as well as

## 6. *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

they have lately done in *France*, and as we find by *Pliny's Letter to Trajan*, the Christians of those days did upon the first threatening of a Persecution; and when this fell out, while the Apostles were but newly dead, and while so much of an extraordinary Spirit remained still in the Church, it is not to be wondered at if in our days too many have preferred this present World to the Faith, and to a good Conscience; but as that forced compliance had no other effect besides the giving those who had not the courage to stand firm, so much the more horrour at their Persecutors, so it very quickly turned the Spirits of the whole *Nation* to a detestation of a *Religion* that had signalised it self with so much Cruelty. I will not take upon me to play the Prophet as to the effects that the present Persecution in *France* may have, tho the numbers that come every day out of that *Babylon*, and the visible backwardness of the greatest part of those who have fallen, are but too evident signs that this Violence is not like to have those glorious Effects which Mr. *Varillas* may perhaps set

set forth in his *Panegyrick*: one thing cannot be denied, that this persecution has contributed more to the establishing the *Protestant Religion* elsewhere, and to the awakening men to use all just precaution against the like cruelty, than all that the most zealous *Protestants* could have wished for or contrived; and of this some *Princes* of that *Religion* are sufficiently sensible, and do not stick to express their horrour at it in terms that they may better use than I repeat. In a word, *Queen Mary* in this point will be found to have the better of the *French King*: *She* found her people *Protestants*, and yet in eighteen Months time she overthrew all the settlement that they had by Law; *She* turned them out of their Churches, and began to *burn* their Teachers and Bishops: whereas the *French King* had not of that *Religion* above the tenth part of his Subjects, and yet the extirpating them out of his Dominions, has cost him as many years as it did *Queen Mary* moneths.

The other Article of the preference that Mr. *Varillas* gives his Monarch to

Queen *Mary* is ; that whereas she could not do it without marrying the *Prince of Spain*, the *King* has been able to effect it without the aid of Strangers. If this were true, the praise due upon it will not appear to be very extraordinary, since he who has so vast an Army, and is in peace with all the World, has been able to crush a small handful without calling in forreign aid ; but on the other hand, *Queen Mary* had neither Troops nor Fleets, and very little Treasure, so that her Employing Strangers would appear to be no great matter ; yet so unhappy is Mr. *Varillas* like to be in all that he writes, that it seems his *Panegyricks* and his *Histories* will be suitable to one another. *Queen Mary* indeed married the *Prince of Spain*, but she was not much the better for it ; for she took such care to preserve the Nation from falling under his power, that as she would receive none of his Troops, so she neither gave him nor his Ministers any share in the Government of *England* ; of this he became soon so disgusted, that seeing no hope of Issue, and as little probability of his being able

able to make himself Master, he abandoned her ; and *She* to recover his favour, engaged her self into a War with *France*, which ended so fatally for *England*, that *Calice* was lost ; so that upon the whole matter, she lost much more than she gained by the *Spanish Match* : but as for her administration at home, if some Money that she had from *Spain*, helped a little to corrupt a *Parliament*, that was the only advantage that she made by it : and thus if *Mr. Varillas's Panegyrick* is not better raised in its other parts than in this, it will be an Original ; but I doubt it will not add much lustre to that *Monarch*, nor draw the recompences on the Author to which he may perhaps pretend. And if the Kings *Parchment* and *Wax*, which he says procured an Obedience from two Millions of persons, that were prepossessed against it by the most powerful of all considerations, which is that of *Religion*, had not been executed by *Dragoons* in so terrible a manner, it is probable that *Edict* would have had as little effect upon the Consciences of the *Protestants*, as it seems the *Edict*

of Nantes had upon the *King's*, tho he had so often promised to maintain it, and had once sworn it. I would not willingly touch such a Subject, but such Indecent Flattery raises an Indignation not easily governed.

Mr. *Varillas* in his Preface to his third *Volum* mentions no Author with relation to *English Affairs*, except the *Archbishop of Raguse*, who, as he says, writ the *Life of Card. Pool*. I do not pretend to deny that there is any such *Author*, only I very much doubt it; for I never heard of it in *England*; and I was so well pleased with the discoveries that I made relating to that *Cardinal*, that I took all the pains I could to be well informed of all that had writ of him; so I conclude, that there is nothing extraordinary in that *Life*, otherwise it would have made some noise in *England*; and it does not appear credible, that a *Dalmatian Bishop* could have any particular knowledge of our Affairs; and if the particulars related in Mr. *Varillas*'s 14. Book are all that he drew out of that *Life*, it seems the *Archbishop of Raguse* has been more acquainted with *Sweedish*.

Swedish than English Affairs: for there is not one word relating to *England* in all that Book, and as little of the *Cardinal*.

But Mr. *Varillas* has shewed himself more conspicuously in the Preface to his fourth *Tome*; he pretends to have made great use of *P. Martyrs Works*, in his 17. Book: but he gives us a very good proof that he never so much as opened them: he tells us, that *P. Martyr* delivered his *Common-places* at *Oxford*, where he was the *Kings Professor*, and that one *Masson* printed them at *London* some years after his death; he tells us, That an ambition of being preferred to *Melancton* had engaged him to that work: in which he adds, that if he is to be preferred to *Melancton* for subtilty, he is Inferior to him in all other things; upon which he runs out to let his Reader see, how well he is acquainted both with *P. Martyr's* Character and History. All men besides Mr. *Varillas* take at least some care of their Prefaces, because they are read by many who often judge of Books, and which is more sensible, they buy them or throw them by as

they are writ: Now since Mr. *Varillas* reproaches me with *my Ignorance of Books*, I will make bold to tell him, That the Apprentices to whom he sends me for Instruction, could have told him, That *P. Martyr* never writ any such Book of *Common Places*, but that after his death, Mr. *Masson* drew a great Collection out of all his Writings, of passages that he put in the Method of *Common Places*: so that tho all that Book, that goes by the name of *P. Martyr's Common Places*, is indeed his, yet he never designed nor dictated any such Work: and this Mr. *Masson* has told so copiously in his Preface, that I have thought it necessary to set down his own words:

*Ergo quemadmodum in amplissima domo, & rebus omnibus instru-  
tissima, non omnia in acervum u-  
num indistincta cumulantur, sed suis  
queque locis distributa seponuntur; ut  
in usus necessarios proferri possint: ita in  
tantis opibus quas sedulus ille Dei Oe-  
conomus, Ecclesiae Dei comparaverat,  
opera pretium me facturum existimavi si  
erdine aliquo, omnia disponerem notis-  
que*

que additis indicarem; unde à studiosis quibusque suo tempore deponi possint: hoc autem meum iudicium multo magis mihi probatum est cum in eadem sententia ipsum D. Martyrem fuisse intellexi. Sic enim à D. Joanne Gravilla--- quo tempore D. P. Martyris domesticus, una cum multis aliis ejus consuetudine & colloquiis frueretur, ab illo quæsum aliquando fuisse, quare locos communes uno volumine collectos, cūdendos non curaret: Hoc enim Ecclesiae Dei fore utilius; & à piis quibusque magnopere desideraxi; cum iis quæ dicta fuerunt annuisse: idque si per otium liceret, se aliquando facturum recepisse quod utinam illi prestare dedisset Dominus; neque enim dubium quin & limæ labore addito & multarum rerum accessione longe cumulatores opes Ecclesia Dei habitura fuisse: id autem cum ipsi minime licuerit.

And if after all these discoveries, Mr. Varillas can find men that will still read his Books and believe them, it must be said, that the Age deserves to be imposed upon.

There is another particular set forth

in this *Preface*, that is of a piece with the former : He tells us, he has drawn that which is *most curious* in his twentieth Book out of *Commendon's Negotiation in England*, of which he gives us this account. "Pope *Julius* the third "writ to Cardinal *Dandino*, ordering "him to send some able man secretly "over to *England*, to confirm the "Queen in her resolution of reconcili- "ing *England* again to the See of "Rome. He upon that sent over *Com- mendon*, who went to *London* in "disguise; but by accident found "one *John Lee*, a Privy Counsellor, "who procured him a secret Au- "dience; he had many Conferences "with the *Queen*, who trusted him "with her Secret, which was, that she "believed she could never re-establish "the *Catholick Religion*, unless she "married the *Prince of Spain*, and "by that means engaged the House "of *Austria* to assist her with their "Troops: but tho' *Commendon* could "not doubt that the *Pope's* Intention "was, that she should marry Cardi- "nal *Pool*, and not raise *Spain* too "much by so great an accession; yet  
he

“ he had been sent over in haste, and  
“ had no Instructions relating to that  
“ matter; so he complied with the  
“ Queens Inclinations for the *Spanish*  
“ *Match*, of which she spoke to  
“ him every time that she gave him  
“ audience; so that he saw into that  
“ Secret, and had credit by that  
“ means to soften most of the Articles,  
“ which would otherwise have been  
“ of great prejudice to the Court of  
“ *Rome*. Mr. *Varillas* can pretend no  
Warrant for this part of his History but  
*Gratians Life of Commendon*; and if  
this be the *most curious* part of his 20.  
Book, we may conclude what judg-  
ment we ought to make of the rest.  
*Commendon* was in *London* when the  
*Duke of Northumberland* was execu-  
ted, which was the 22. *August*: he  
had been sent from *Brussels* some days  
before that, and by consequence he  
was sent by *Cardinal Dandino* of his  
own motion, as *Gratian* represents it.  
For King *Edward* died the sixth of  
*July*, and it was 10. days after that  
before *Queen Mary* was in possession:  
so here there will not be time enough  
for sending notice to *Rome*, and re-  
ceiving,

16 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*

ceiving orders from it. 2. Lee was a Servant of the *Queen's*, and no Privy Counsellor. 3. The *Queen* never mentioned the Spanish Match to *Commendon*; on the contrary, she rather intimated to him her design for Cardinal *Pool*: for she asked him, if the *Pope* could not dispence with his marrying, since he was only in *Lib. 20.* Deacons Orders; which is confessed elsewhere by Mr. *Kavillas*. 4. It does not appear by *Gratian*, that *Commendon* saw the *Queen* often; for as the thing was a great secret, and by consequence many audiences given by a Lady, that was so scrupulous as she was, could not be long concealed: so on the other hand, no doubt *Commendon* pressed a dispatch all that was possible, knowing what a step such a piece of news must be to the making his Fortune in *Rome*. 5. Nor does it appear, that there was the least motion yet made in the Match with *Spain*; and the first proposition that I could find of it, was in a Letter writ by the *Q. of Hungary* in the *Emperours* name, and subscribed by him, for he was then lame of the Gout, and dated in the beginning

beginning of November. 6. Mr. Varillas represents Queen Mary very ready to discover her greatest Secrets, when she would trust an unknown Man, sent to her by the Legate in the Emperours Court, with a matter of such Consequence. There was no danger in trusting him with her design of reconciling her self to the Court of Rome ; for he that was a Creature of that Court, was not to be suspected in that matter ; but it had been a strange looseness of Tongue in her to have blobb'd out such a Secret to such a Person ; so that the preference he gives his King to so weak a Woman, will lose much of its grace. And thus by this Essay it appears, that Mr. Varillas holds on his Method of writing, and that he does not so much as take care to write his Prefaces correctly.

I. Mr. Varillas will shew, that he knows Genealogies as well as he does the other parts of History; P. 58. for he tells us, that Henry the Seaventh's Queen, that was the Heiress of the House of York, had no Kinswoman of that Family nearer to her, than her Cousin-German Margaret. This is strange Ignor.

Ignorance; for she had a Sister that married to *Courtney Earl of Devonshire*, who was Mother to the *Marquis of Exeter*, that was executed under *Henry the Eighth*. Now he should have known this, that so he might have given a stroke upon it against the Memory of that *Prince*.

II. He sets out *Cardinal Pool's* great vigour in speaking so freely to the P. 59. King, against his Divorce, that he once intended to put him to death: but he pardoned him in consideration of the Compliance of his Mother and Brethren, and so he was sent by his Family to study at Padua.

All this is a Fiction, that was not so much as thought on, till many years after the persons concerned were dead: that *Cardinal* in his Book had no regard neither to *K. Henry's* Royal Dignity, nor to the relation in Blood that was between them; but treated him as a *Pharaoh*, and a *Nebuchadnezzar*: yet he upbraided him with no such thing: tho it had been a very natural Apology for all that Freedom that he then took, if he could have alledged, that he had expressed himself first so plainly to him.

him in private. But so far was the Cardinal from such a behaviour, that he complied with the *Clergy* in acknowledging the *King* to be the *Supream Head of the Church of England*: For *Pool* in his *Book* tells the *King*, that he was in *England* when that *Submission* was made; and adds, that the *King* would not accept of the *Prestent* that was offered him by the *Clergy*, unless they would likewise give him that *Title*. Now it is agreed on by all, that this *submission* was past by the whole *Convocation* unanimously; *Fisher* being the only man that stood out a while, but even he at last concurred with the rest. And *Pool* was at that time *Dean of Exeter*, and so he was a Member of the *Convocation*: he also enjoyed his *Deanry* several years after this; so that it cannot be imagined, that the *King* would have let him go out of *England*, and have allowed him a good *benefice* for supporting him in his *Studies*, if he had set himself so vigorously to oppose him in a matter that touched him so near.

III. Mr. *Varillas* tells us, that in the year 1536. the *King* made a *Law*, P. 60. obliging

20 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
obliging his Subjects to continue firm in  
the six principal Points, which the Here-  
ticks disputed most: And to put his  
Reader out of doubt as to this matter,  
he cites the *Acts of Parliament* for that  
year: But Chronology is a study too  
low for so sublime a Writer: and there-  
fore since he thought the Fable would  
go on the better, if this Law were put  
in this year, he would needs Anticipate  
three years, and put a Law that past  
not before the year 1539. in the year  
1536. but in this he followed his *San-  
ders*, or which is all one, his *Florimond  
de Raimond* exactly.

IV. He reckons up the *six Articles*,  
it seems as others had done be-  
*Ibid.* fore him; but it is certain, he ne-  
ver looked into our *Acts of Par-  
liament*; for as they would have set him  
right as to the year, so they would have  
shewed him, that the sixth *Article* did  
not at all mention the *seven Sacraments*:  
and as to *Auricular Confession*, it was  
only decreed, that it was *expedient and  
necessary*, and that it ought to be retained  
in the *Church*: For upon this there  
was a great dispute, most of the *Cler-  
gy* endeavouring to carry the matter  
so

so far as to declare Confession necessary by the Law of God: but *King Henry* would not consent to that; and there is a long Letter yet extant, all writ with his own hand, in which he argues this matter liker a learned *Divine* than a great *King*.

V. He tells us, *That Archbishop Cranmer conferred all Benefices in the quality of Vicar General of the Church of England, and that he disputed with Jesus Christ the Institution of four Sacraments.* But neither the one nor the other is true; for he gave no *Benefices*, but those of his own *Diocese*: and as for his expression of *disputing with Jesus Christ the Institution of four Sacraments*, I pass it as a *Sublime* of our Author's; yet even the thing is false: all the ground for it is, that in the first part of the *Erudition of a Christian-man*, that was set out this year, no mention was made of these four *Sacraments*; but they were all set forth some years after this, when that work was finished.

VI. He says, *that upon this the zealous Catholicks of England concluded, that the King himself lean'd to Heresie* *Ibid.*

*Heresy*, and that the Provinces of *Lincoln* and *Northumberland*, *Cambridge-shire*, *York-shire* and *Durresm*, were the first that revolted, and made up a body more than 50000 men. Here Mr. *Varillas* shews us still how well he likes *Rebellion*, by giving those Rebels no worse name than that of *Zealous Catholicks*; and here he gives us the accomplishment of the Cardinal *de Bellay*'s threatnings: but one would have thought, that a Writer, who resolved to dedicate his Book to the *King*, should have softned this part a little; otherwise a *Zealous Protestant* may be naturally carried to make the Inference, that if the Fears of the change of *Religion* in *England*, might carry *Catholicks* to Rebel, on whom no worse Character is bestowed than that of *Zealous*; why may not *Protestants*, oppressed and ruined, contrary to the faith of irrevocable *Edicts*, claim the same priviledge. His laying of *Lincoln-shire* and *Northumberland* together, and then returning to *Cambridge-shire*, and going back to *York-shire*, shews how well he knows the situation of our Counties; and he instead of *Lancashire*

Shire and Westmorland, has out of his store put Northumberland and Cambridge-Shire in the Rebellion ; he also represents this rising only as a beginning, whereas these were the only Counties that rebelled : nor did they ever joyn together ; for those of Lincoln-Shire were suppressed within that County, before the rising in York-Shire..

VII. He says, *The King ordered the Dukes of Northfolk and Suffolk to go to the Rebels and to promise them all that they demanded ; upon which these Dukes undertook this Message, and went to the Rebels Camp, with all the shews of Humility that could have been expected, from the most abject of the vanquished ; they desired them to put their Complaints in writing, and when they saw them, they thought them very just, and signed a Treaty with them in the Kings Name ; by which they obliged him to redress all the Innovations that had been made in matters of Religion : and with this they satisfied those who were in Arms, who were so foolish as to lay down their Arms upon the faith of this Treaty : yet the King, after*

24 Reflections on the Third & Fourth  
ter he had thus dispersed them, did not  
trouble himself much with the keeping  
of his word to them ; but as he knew  
the names of the chief Instruments of  
this Sedition, so he put them all in pri-  
son at several times, upon some pretend-  
ed Crimes with which they were charged ;  
and soon after they were proceeded against,  
according to the forms of Law ; and not  
one of them escaped death, either in secret  
or in publick.

By this Relation of this Affair, one  
would think, that the King sent those  
Dukes as Supplicants to the Rebels ;  
but they went both of them at the  
Head of the Kings Troops, and both  
to different Armies. 2. They were so  
far from promising every thing in the  
Kings name, that the Kings Answers  
to their Demands are yet extant, in  
which he treats them as *Brute Beasts*,  
that meddled themselves in things that  
they did not understand : The King  
told them, their duty was to obey, and  
not to command ; and that he would  
not at all be advised by them. He did  
indeed promise a Pardon of what was  
past, to those who should return to  
their duty : but he would not alter  
any

any thing at their sute. 3. Our Author did not know, that this *Rebellion* was after the suppression of the lesser *Monasteries*, and that this was one of the Chief of their Grievances: otherwise he had embellished it, no doubt. 4. He taxes them of *Imprudence*, for trusting the *Kings* promises; but one would have expected, that in a *Reign* of so much submission as this is, he should have rather shewed their Fidelity and Loyalty, that made them so easily believe a *Kings* word: but it seems Mr. *Varillas* thinks it is a piece of *Imprudence* to rely too much on that. 5. A *Prince's* breaking his Faith, is a thing that needs no aggravation; yet for certain Reasons that our Author may guess at, if he will, he should not enlarge too much on this, even tho the promise had been given both frequently and solemnly; for this awakens ill Ideas in peoples minds: and makes them conclude with the *Ecclesiastes*, that *the thing which hath been, is that which shall be.* 6. King *Henry* excepted many out of the Genral Pardon; others were presently seised on for engaging into new Conspiracies:

C and

and against all these he proceeded upon no pretended Crimes, but upon that of High Treason, for having been in actual Rebellion against him. 7. All that suffered by form of Law for those Rebellions, were only two *Peers*, six *Knights*, and the *Wife* of one of them, six *Abbots*, and a *Monk*, and sixteen *men* of a meaner rank: now considering what a formidable *Rebellion* that had been, this will not appear to have been a very extraordinary severity; and without running too far back, to things past the memory of man, it were possible to instance *Rebellions* that were not so dreadful, and yet that have ended in many more *Sacrifices*. 8. He tells us of some that died in secret, if he means that died in their Beds in Prison, the thing may be very true: but then it is not extraordinary; but if he means the putting them to death secretly, and the using them so barbarously, that they languished and died under the Hands of their Tormentors: he must know, that these are things which the *English Nation* knows not; they may be practised by *Courts of In-*

Inquisition, or where *Dragoons*, and *De Rapines* have the Execution of the *Kings Parchment* and *Wax* put in their hands; but all Tryals and Executions in *England* are open and publick; which is too gentle a Nation to bear the Cruelty of Torture.

VIII. Mr. *Varillas* would needs have an extraordinary stroke of Providence appear here; for he tells us, *That the last of those who suffered under the hand of the Hangman, was no sooner dead, then the Kings beloved Son the Duke of Richmond, whom he had designed to make his Successour, died suddenly of a malignant Fever.* But I had warned our Author of the necessity of buying a Chronological Table; for I saw what would come on it, if he would not be at that charge: The *Duke of Richmond* died the 22. of June 1536. and the first of all the tumults that was begun in *Lincoln-Shire*, did not fall out before the *October* following: so here is a lovely stroke of the Poem spoiled. 2. It does not appear that the King had any such design on this *Son* of his: for as he gave him none of the

*Titles of the Royal Family*, so he did not raise him up to any such degree of lustre as must have naturally followed on such a design.

IX. He joyns to this *Edward the Sixths Birth*, and says, *That his Ibid. Mother not being able to bring him forth, King Henry ordered her Belly to be opened; saying, that he could find another Wife, but that he was not sure to find another Son: and that he began presently after her death to think on a fourth Marriage.*

Again it appears that Mr. *Varillas* wants a Chronological Table; for he joins King *Edward's* birth to the *Duke of Richmond's* death; tho there was sixteen moneths between them; for King *Edward* was born the twelfth of *October 1537.* and that was nine moneths after all the Executions were over. 2. King *Edward* was born in the ordinary way, and the *Queen* was as well a day after as any *Woman* in her condition could be: of this there are many good Proofs extant; for her *Council* writ Letters over all *England*, giving notice of her safe delivery, and of her good health, and two days after,

ter, others say three days after, she was taken with a distemper ordinary to Women in her condition, of which she died. 3. Our Author should have considered the decorum of his Fable better, than to make the *King* speak of a *Son* before he was born: it had been more natural to make him speak of a *Child* indefinitely. 4. This *Queens* death affected K. *Henry* so much, that he let two years pass before he entred into any Treaty for a new *Wife*. 5. He puts this in the year 1538. tho it fell out in the year 1537.

X. He opens upon the *Queens* Death a Project for Reconciling *England* to the *Court* *Ibid.* and of *Rome*: and says, That *P. 64, 65,* in order to the satisfying that *66.*

*Court*, it was not doubted but the *Parliament* of *England* would annul *King Henry's* second *Marriage*, and declare *Elizabeth* a *Bastard*. He adds, That a *Marriage* of *King Henry* with *Margaret*, *Daughter* to *Francis the First*, was projected: and here he shews, how great a resemblance of *Humours* there was between them. He adds, That *Pope Paul the Third* was

much pressed by the Colledge of Cardinals, to fulminate against Henry, since the Cardinals Hat, which he had sent to Fisher, had only served to precipitate his death: upon which the Pope was bound both in Honour and Interest to revenge that contempt that was put on the Purple; for if the persons of Cardinals were not esteemed sacred, this would very much slacken their courage upon dangerous occasions: The Pope therefore very dexterously resolved to shew his Thunder without discharging it. So tho a new Sentence was past, yet it was not published, in hopes that the King, for the safety of his person, that was always exposed to the resentments of Zealous Catholicks, or for the securing himself from those Seditions which broke out in one place, as soon as they were quieted in another, would at last reconcile himself to the holy See.

The only project that was ever set on foot after the breach, for reconciling England to the Court of Rome, was almost two years before this, upon Anne Bullens fall: for then the Pope proposed it to Cassall, that had been the Kings Ambassador at Rome, but the

the King rejected it with so much scorn, that in his next *Parliament* he past two *Laws* against all commerce with that *Court*, severer than any of the former. 2. There was no need of asking an *Act of Parliament* for annulling the *Kings Marriage* with *Anne Bullen*, and for illegitimating the Issue; for that was already done, upon a confession of a Pre-contract that was drawn from her: of which it is plain Mr. *Varillas* knew nothing, tho it is in our *Statute Books*, and these were then printed both in *French* and *English*. 3. It does not appear that there was ever the least motion of a Marriage between King *Henry* and *Margaret of France*, much less that it was believed concluded. 4. Our Author does not observe the decency of the *Cardinals* pressing the *Pope* to severity, when he expressed it by his *Reverging* the contempt put upon the Purple. It must be confessed, that this is too haughty a stile for him that pretends to be the *Vicar of Christ*: the language of *Revenge* does not agree with the Meekness of the Lamb of God. 5. But if he makes the *Cardinals* speak a little

too high with relation to the *Popes* Resentments, he makes them as abject as can be in their own particulars; since they own, that the ground of their courage in serving the *Holy See* on dangerous occasions, was the Sacredness of their persons, which must be maintained, otherwise it could not be expected that they would expose themselves any more. There is no courage when a man knows he is invulnerable. It seems Mr. *Varillas* thinks, that the Colledge of *Cardinals* have not the Spirit of Martyrdom among them: Now tho it is very likely that this may be true, yet Mr. *Varillas* had shewed more respect if he had suppressed it. 6. The Sentence which Mr. *Varillas* represents, as past at this time, but not pronounced, was passed two years before this, the first of September 1535. so little is he exact, that he does not ex-

*Bullar. Rom.*  
Tom. 2,  
p. 704.

min the days of printed *Bulls*. 7. Mr. *Varillas* represents this present Negotiation as in the year

1538. which he sets on his Margin, yet the final publishing of the Sentence was

on the 17. of December 1538. So that all this delay of the Sentence, and that which follows, could not belong to this year; but it must come in here for *Amours* giving a lustre to *Romances*; our Author thought, it was necessary to make them have a large share in all his Relations, and if the dates of matters will not agree, there is no help for it, he must pass over such inconsiderable things. 8. *Zealous Catholicks* again for *Rebels*.

XI. He goes on to dream, and fancies, that since the *Daughter of France* was *Christened* by King P. 67. Henry, both *Francis* and he would be obliged to send to *Rome* for a *Dispensation*; and that the *Pope* resolved not to grant it, but after that *England* should be reconciled to the *Holy See*. Therefore to facilitate this matter, the *Pope* sent for *Pool*, who was then at *Padua*, and he made him a *Cardinal*, and sent him to *France*, to set on that *Design*: which *Pool*, who loved his *Country* to excess, undertook with all possible *Zeal*. But the *King of England* by a fatal *Blindness* rejected all this. And here he pretends to tell what

might be the secret Reasons of it, in his way, that is to say, very impertinently. He adds, *That King Henry sent to Francis, to demand Cardinal Pool as a Fugitive and a Traytor, and that he cited the examples of Charles the Fifth, and of his Father, who had delivered up Princes of the House of York to the Kings of England; and in conclusion, that Henry threatned Francis, that if he did not grant his desire, he would break the League in which he was with him, and would make one with the Emperour against him.*

If Mr. *Varillas* had seen Card. *Pools* *Book* against King *Henry*, *Answer to* which he pretends to have *me. P. 305.* lying before him, he would have known that it was printed in the year 1536. in which he had used the *King* in a stile that no Crowned Head in the World could allow of: but the conclusion of it was beyond all the rest; for he conjured the *Emperour* to turn his *Arms* rather against the *King* than against the *Turk*; and it was known in *England*, that he had obtained this Commission to be sent to *France*, only that he might set on

on a League between the two Crowns, against *England*; and so it was no wonder if the *King* resented his being well received in the Court of *France*.  
2. It is not to be imagined, that when *Charles the Fifth* was contriving how to make War upon *England*, and was the person that chiefly supported *Cardinal Pool*, that, I say, *King Henry* would be so highly displeased with the civility of the Court of *France* to the *Cardinal*, as to threaten upon that to join with the *Emperour*, who was the *Kings* chief Enemy, and the spring that set *Pool* in motion; therefore all this whole negotiation is to be reckoned among our Authors Fictions, since he gives no proofs of it.

XII. Mr. *Varillas* says, *That King Henry set fifty thousand Crowns on Cardinal Pools head*: and upon this he grafts a new Fable.

But in the Sentence, and Act of *Attaindor* against *Pool*, there is not a word of any sum set on his Head; so this was a small decoration that was not to be omitted by a man that does not trouble himself to examin, whether what he writes is true or not.

XIII. If Mr. *Varillas* were not so excessively Ignorant as he is of P. 73. the History of *England*, he would not have passed over the great advantage he had here of reproaching King *Henry*, with that which was indeed the greatest blemish of his whole Reign, and that was first practised on the *Countess of Salisbury*, *Cardinal Pools* Mother, whom by an affectation contrary to our Rules, he calls *Princess Margaret*, the Title *Princess* being affected in *England* to our *Kings Children*; and not being so much as given to their Brothers Children, who are only called *Ladies*: this piece of Tyranny was, that she was condemned without being brought to make her Defence, or to be heard answer for her self. Now I leave it to the Reader to judge how well informed Mr. *Varillas* is, who is ignorant of that which is to be found in every one of our Writers, that have given the History of that time: and which would have furnished him with the best Article of his whole Satyr against King *Henry*.

XIV. He tells us, that *Calvin* writ an *Apology* for *Ibid.* King Henry's conduct in that matter; upon which he makes a long excursion.

But I know nothing of this matter; I believe it not a whit the better, because Mr. *Varillas* says it; and it does not appear among his printed Works. He adds, that the accusation was false that was brought against *Card. Pool*, as if he had formed a design to raise Troops in *Picardy* and *Normandy*, and to make a descent with them to assist the *Zealous Catholicks of England*: one reason that he gives to prove it false, is, that the *English* were at that time *Masters of the Sea*. The good opinion that Mr. *Varillas* has of the Rebellions of the *Zealous Catholicks of England* returns often in this kind *Epithet*, that he bestows on them. But for this accusation of *Cardinal Pools*, our Author may very well answer it; for I believe, it was never made by any before himself: yet so unhappy is he, that he must discover his Ignorance in every Page and Line of his Book. The *Kings of England* had then no *Fleets*,

and so they were not *Masters of the Sea*, unless he means that the Sovereignty of the four Seas belonged to the Crown of *England*, in which sense I acknowledg, that not only then, but at all times, the *King of England* is *Master of the Sea*.

XV. Mr. *Varillas*, after he had carried his Romance to make the *P. 149.* round to other parts, returns back to *England*; but I do not know by what ill luck it is, that there is not one single Paragraph that relates to our Affairs that is true: he begins here with the pretended Sentence against *Latimer*, Bishop of *Vigorne*, and *Scherton* Bishop of *Salisbury*, who were, as he says, not only degraded, but condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, for having spoke somewhat against the *six Articles*. 1. It is perhaps to descend too low to tell him, that he ought to have named those Sees *Worcester* and *Salisbury*, and that the latter of those *Bishops* was not *Scherton*, but *Shaxton*; for marking such small faults looks like a want of more material ones. 2. These two *Bishops* were never *degraded*; but of their

their own accord they resigned their Bishopricks, within three days after the *Act of the six Articles* had passed ; and it was some time after that, before they were put in Prison, upon an Accusation relating to the *six Articles*, and not for *Latimer's* having eat meat *on a Good Fryday*, as our Author reports it in another *Lib. 17.* place, having forgot what *P. 76.* he had said here. For it is a very hard thing to remember Lies, especially when the number of them is so excessively great.

XVI. Upon *Wolsey's* fall he tells us, that the *King* cast his eyes upon *Thomas Cromwel*, to be his chief *Ibid.* Minister ; who was a Gentleman of quality ; upon which he tells us, that the Family of the *Cromwels* was very Antient, and had already produced some that had been raised to the Chief Imployments in the State ; and so he goes on to make a Parallel between the late Protector and King *Henry's* Minister : only he will not in this place examin whether the one descended from the other or not.

One would wonder how it falls out that

that Mr. *Varillas* is so constantly mistaken, even in the most obvious matters: There is not one that writ in that time on those Affairs, that does not take notice of the meanness of *Cromwel's* birth; for his Father was a *Blacksmith*; and his base extraction is particularly mentioned in the *Act* that condemned him. 2. He is the first of his name that is spoken of in our Story: for the Family was so far from being antient, that it was not known before him. 3. *Oliver Cromwel* was no way related to him, and indeed not so much as by being originally of that name: being descended from an Antient Family in *Wales*, of the *Ap William's*, and at this time the *Welchmen* beginning to take Surnames, who before went only by the name of some Eminent man among their Ancestors, with the Addition of *Ap* before it: this *Ap Williams* having received great Obligations from *Cromwel*, he made choice of his name. 4. Our Author says true here, that *Cromwel* succeeded *Wolsey* in the *chief Ministry*, but yet he contradicts himself; for he had said *Lib. 9. see elsewhere, that by Anne Bullens*.

Bullens means Cranmer my Reflect.  
 was raised at this time to p. 103.  
 the Dignity of being the first numb. 38.  
 Minister: but he growsold,  
 and it seems his Memory decays; all the  
 rest of his Character of Cromwel, and  
 the projects that he puts in his head are  
 a continuation of the Romance.

XVII. Mr. Varillas will here rise above the Vulgar, and give a representation of the state of P. 152, the Monasteries in England: 153. he tells us, *They had acquired the property of two thirds of the Kingdom: and among the other effects of the power of the Clergy, he mentions this, that the Popes had many officers in England for levying the Peterpence, who had such an Influence over the Clergy, that they had the main stroak in our Parliaments; by which means it was, that tho the King of England was as to the outward appearance Master of his Kingdom, yet in effect he was far from it: and that as King Henry had a mind to shake off this yoke, so Cromwel suggested to him the method in which it might be done: and among other things, since the chief resistance that the Crown had*

had met with in Parliament, had always come from the Monks, he propos'd to the King the seizing on their Revenues.

One would think that Mr. *Varillas* had intended to prepare an Apology for King *Henry*'s seizing on the *Abbey Lands*: for if they had two thirds of the *Kingdom*, if they were influenced by *Italian Ministers*, and if they had always opposed the designs of the Crown in *Parliament*, here were very powerful reasons for suppressing them.

2. It is generally believed that the *Abbey Lands* might be one third of *England*: but no body ever carried the estimate of their wealth to so invidious a height before Mr. *Varillas*, as to imagin, that they were Masters of two thirds of the *Nation*. And as for that Interest that he pretends that some *Italians* have had in them, and the Opposition that they gave the Crown in *Parliament*, these are either Fictions of his own, or of some Author as bad as himself, if any such can be found. In the times of King *John*, and of his Son *Henry the Third*, the *Italians* oppressed *England* severely, but they were far from

from doing it by the Interest they had among the *Monasteries*; for it appears by *Matthew Paris*, how much they complained of that *Tyranny*; which was in a great measure repressed when *England* came to have *Kings* who had more spirit: so that *Edward* the first and *Edward* the third made such effectual *Laws*, that after their time we find no evidences of any great stroke that *Italian Officers* had in *England*.

XVIII. He represents the dissolution of the *Monasteries*, as carried on by a Project of *Cromwells*, P. 154. who got a great party among the Monks to sign a *Petition* to the King, for which he cites on the Margin the expositive or *Preamble* of it, in which they set forth their real *unhappiness*, tho they seemed to be happy, and that they could not bear the hardness of their condition, and therefore they implored the King's *Favour*, that they might live as other *Englishmen*, free from the constraint of *Vows*, and the *Tyranny* of the *Court of Rome*: and they added, that if the King would grant this *Petition*, they prayed him to accept a free *Surrender* of all their *Goods and Lands*. This, he

he says, was sent from House to House, and it was looked on as the Master-piece of the Reformation.

Mr. Varillas has a mind to demonstrate to all the World, that he knows nothing of English Affairs: For 1. there was never any such Petition made. 2. I have published almost three hundred of the *Surrenders*, of which the Original Deeds are yet extant: and these were all of one form, but were not in one writing, as he dreams: the Preamble of all is the same: \* *That they have deliberatly, of certain knowldg, and of their own proper motion, and for some just and reasonable Causes, that did especially move their Souls and Consciences, freely and of their own accord, given and granted to the King, &c.*

\* *Sciatis nos, deliberate certa scientia, & mero motu nostris, ex quibusdam causis justis & rationabilibus, nos, animos & conscientias nostras, specialiter moventibus, ultro & sponte, dedisse & concessisse Domino Regi, &c.*

3. It is plain our Author knew nothing of the *General Visitation* that was made of all the *Monasteries of England*, and of the Discoveries that were made of the most horrid of all Vices, that God had punished with Fire and Brimstone from Heaven, which reigned among them: and of the discoveries made of the Instruments of coyning in several Houses; and of the False Relicks and the Impostures discovered in some Images, of which the Eyes and Mouth were made to move by secret Springs; for these things, that were laid open in the publickeſt parts of the Nation, disposed men to bear with the dissolution, which perhaps would not have been otherwise ſo easily brought about. 4. Nor does our Author know, that three years before the general dissolution all the ſmall *Monasteries* were diſſolved. In ſhort, the great discoveries I had made of the progress of this matter, might have engaged a man even of an ordinary degree of carelessness, to have read what I had writ concerning it. But Mr. *Varillas* muſt be an Original in every thing.

XIX. He says, This Petition was no sooner read in Parliament, than P. 156. on the 28. of April 1559. they appointed that all the Monasteries in England should be set open, and that their Lands should be appropriated to the King for the increase of his Revenue; upon this all was seized on, and there was so much wealth found among them, that out of the Church of Thomas Becket alone, there were six Cart load of Plate and other things carried away; and for such of the Religious Persons as would not quit their Profession nor their Lands, they proceeded against those who were of a meaner rank as guilty of a Contempt of an Act of Parliament; and those that were more considered, were attainted of Treason, because some Libels that had been writ upon the Kings divorce, were found among their Papers, in which the Kings Amours were painted to the life; for these they were accused, as having not only concealed them, but preserved them to posterity: and by a new subtlety the Crime of less Majesty was added to that of High Treason: and here he comes over again with that of King Edward's being

being cut out of his Mothers belly, as if the frequent repeating of Falsehoods would gain them the more credit. 1. *Dates* are unhappy things for Mr. Varillas; for this *Act* did not pass before the 28. of June. 2. This *Act* did only confirm what was already done, but did not at all threaten any that would not surrender. 3. There were eighteen *Abbots* present when the *Act* was first read, and seventeen when it passed in the House of *Lords*, and yet none of them opposed it. 4. There was no petition read in either House of *Parliament*; that had been made by the *Monks*; for this *Act* neither dissolved nor opened any *Monasteries*, but only confirmed the *Kings* Title upon their Surrenders. 5. His Author *Sanders* had raised up *Two Chests* of the *Plate* that belonged to *Becket's Shrine*, to *Twenty six Cart Load*: but it seems Mr. Varillas thought this a little too Extravagant, so that he reduces it to a modester number of *six*; but yet he should stick to his Author. And here I must call to mind a passage of our Author's, that had escaped me, concerning *Thomas becket, Bones being raised and burnt;*

burnt ; as if the *King* had re-  
P. 83. viewed his Process, and by a  
formal Sentence degraded  
him of his *Saintship* : whereas this  
matter passed without any sort of  
Ceremony. *Becket* did things that  
were of another nature than all that  
has been lately done in the business of  
the *Regale* ; he was not content to dis-  
obey, but thundred against the *King*  
and the *Clergy*, and the whole *Nation*,  
that would not concur with him in  
his Violences, which were such, that  
at this day they would not pass unpun-  
ished even in *Spain* it self : and tho he  
was killed without any Order of the  
*King's*, it is known not only what Pen-  
nance the *King* was forced to do, but  
what a Superstition for his Memory  
there followed upon his Canonisation :  
there were Two *Holy Days* assigned  
him : there was a *Jubily* every fifty  
year, with Plenary Indulgences to all  
who visited his *Tomb*, which brought  
sometimes an hundred thousand per-  
sons together ; and his *Altar* was so  
much more valued than either *Christ's*  
or the *Virgins*, that by the old accounts  
yet extant it appears, that some years  
there

there were no Offerings at all made at *Christ's Altar*; and tho there were indeed some made at the *Virgin's Altar*, yet those of *Thomas Becket's* made a sum about twenty times more. So it was no wonder if King *Henry* put an end to this Superstition: and therefore he ordered the *Skrine* to be broken, and the Bones to be *buried*, as our Authors say positively, tho the *Italians* say they were *burned*; for so it is specified in the *Bull*: and indeed there had been no great fault if they had been burnt. 6. No man could be punished for refusing to surrender; for the *Act of Parliament* required none to do it. 7. Those who were attainted of *Treason*, had been either in the *Rebellion*, or had sent their *Plate* to the *Prebels*. 8. Our Author shews how well he understands our *Law*, when he pretends to make a difference between *High Treason* and the Crime of *lese Majesty*; for they are one and the same thing: we do not use to express the highest sort of Crimes against the State by the term of *lese Majesty*, but only by that of *High Treason*. 9. Those *Libels* of which he speaks, were

50 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
only found among the *Carthusians*; and  
tho some of that Order were put to  
death upon other accounts, yet these  
Libels were only made use of to fright-  
en them to surrender up their House;  
sure here are faults enough for one Pa-  
ragraph.

XX. He gives us a longer prospect  
of what *Cromwel* thought

P. 160. on, and of what he should  
have thought on; both being  
alike true and equally judicious: then  
he goes on to tell us the *Interests* of  
the *Duke of Cleves*, and of his Sister's  
Qualities: and to shew us, how well  
he was informed of her greatest Se-  
crets; he says, that she was fit for  
Marriage before she was twelve year  
old: but that tho' she had been courted  
by many Princes, her Brother was re-  
solved to reserve her for such

P. 164. an *Alliance* as might protect  
him against the *House of Au-*  
*ustria*. She was a *Lutheran*, which did  
not please *Henry*, yet at last the Mar-  
riage was agreed on, and She

P. 166. came to *England*, and was  
married the third of *January*.

1540. She had been contracted to  
the

Prince of *Lorraine*, and tho this was really of no force in Law, yet it was afterwards pretended to dissolve her Marriage with *Henry*, as appears by the Sentence: So much is our Author a stranger to her story, tho he would make us fancy that he had Memoirs concerning her from her Chambermaids, since he tells us when she was fit for Marriage. *I* have often warned our Author to avoid the giving of Dates; for he is unhappy in them all: this Marriage was made the 6 of *January*, yet it is much for him to have hit the Month right; for he is not always so exact.

XXI. He says, *The King was so well pleased with this Match, that immediately upon it, he* *Abid.* *made Cromwel Great Cham-*

*berlain, and created him Earl of Essex, and made his Son a Lord.* But this is so false, that, the King from the time he saw *Anne of Cleve*, had an aversion for her; and intended once to have sent her away without Marrying her; and after he had married her, he told *Cromwel* how much he disliked her, and that he believed *She was no*

*Maid*, and that her person was loathsome ; so that he believed he should never be able to consummate the Marriage ; so that *Cromwel* had rather reason to apprehend, that this proving so unhappy, it would be his Ruin. He was not made *Earl of Essex* till the *April* following ; so that as this Marriage was too unlucky to do him any service, it seems it did not hurt him much neither.

XXII. He shews us, how well he understands our Constitutions, P. 166. when he says, *That the Subsidy granted the King, was a Tenth and the Fourth part of a fifteenth* : whereas it was a Tenth and Four Fifteenths.

XXIII. He says, *That Cromwel having met with some Opposition P. 168. by three Members of Parliament, who were the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Wilson, and Frammer, a Merchant, he charged some false Crimes on them, and put them in Prison, but he proceeded more severely against John Nevil, Knight of the Garter ; for he subordned false Witnesses against him, so that he was beheaded.*

1. The Bishop of *Chichester* comply'd with every thing that wes done in Parliament, as appears by the Journal of the House of *Lords*: but some Correspondence that he held with the Court of *Rome*, being discovered about this time, he was put in Prison; but upon his submission he was set at Liberty. 2. *Wilson* being a Clergy-man, could not be of the House of *Commons*: and he was no Bishop, so that he could not be a Member of either House; but he was clapt up as a Complice of the Bishop of *Chichester's*, and likewise set at liberty with him. *Frammer* is not named, there is indeed one *Grunceter* a Merchant named, who was condemned of Treafon a year before this. 3. There was one Sr. *Edward Nevil*, a Knight, tho not of the *Garter*, who was indeed Condemned and Executed a year before this; but it was for being in a Confederacy with Cardinal *Pole*, and more particularly for having said, that the King was a *Beast*, and worse than a *Beast*. God only knows whether the Witnesses swore true or false against him.

XXIV. He tells us, That Cromwel, to fill up the measure of his Iniquities, got a Law to be made; by which he might easily dispatch all those who should oppose his Designs: which was, that any man condemned in absence, without being heard to justify himself, either in person, or by proxy, should be esteemed as justly condemned as if it had been done in the common form.

Here is indeed the great blemish of King Henry's Reign, and of Cromwel's Ministry: but it is told in such a manner by Mr. *Varillas*, that it appears to be no extraordinary thing as he relates it. 1. There was no Law made about this, it was only practised by the *Parliament*, as the Legislative Body, without giving the common Courts of Judicature the power of using it. 2. The Condemning men in Absence has been always practised by our Law, when the Absence was wilful: and if Mr *Varillas* accuses the putting men to death upon such a Sentence, it may probably be supposed to be an effect of his aversion to the King of *England*, and put here on design,

sign, to aggravate the Execution of Sr. Thomas Armstrong and the Duke of Monmouth, who were the two last that suffered, being condemned in absence.

3. The Heinousness of this matter, which our Author shews he understood not, consists in this, that men who were in prison, were condemned upon the examination of Witnesses against them, without confronting them with their Witnesses, or bringing them to answer for themselves: now tho' this was taken from the Holy Courts of *Inquisition*, and was only put in practise by the *Parliament* it self, yet I will not go about to soften, much less to justify a practice so contrary to the most Indispensible Rules of Equity and Morality.

XXV. He says, *K. Henry* being sooner disgusted at *Anne of Cleve* than he had been of his other Wives, dissolved the Marriage for two reasons; the one was, that she was *Incapable* of having Children; and the other was her *Heresy*; to which the English Writers that favour *Henry*, add two others; the one, that those of the League of *Smalcald*, would not receive the English into their Union; and the other, that *K. Henry's* Interests

were then changed: to these four reasons he adds a fifth, *that she had not that engaging Temper, that was necessary to charm Henry.*

1. It is a strange thing to see an *Historian* mistake every thing, and that there should not be one single part of his work sound. The sentence annulling the Kings Marriage with *Anne of Cleve* is Printed, according to the Record yet extant; in which, as there is not one of all the reasons mentioned by Mr. *Varillas*, so there are other Reasons that would have given him much better grounds to have censured this Action, than those he had set up, chiefly the second, which is, that K. *Henry* had not given an inward, clear, perfect, and entire consent to the *Marriage*, which I had laid open with the Indignation that so unjust a practice ought to raise in an *Historian*; since here a ground was laid down by which all Faith and Commerce among men is quite destroyed: so ill instructed was Mr. *Varillas*, that tho he had a mind to write a *Satyr* against K. *Henry*, he did not know where to take the true Advantages, that a man better informed would have found; if he writes *Panegyricks*,

gyricks, as he does Satyrs. Mr. Varillas will still be Mr. Varillas.

XXVI. He pretends, that Cromwel w<sup>ld</sup> not so far comply with the King's aversion to Anne of Cleves, as to concur with him in the Divorce, which drew on him his Ruin.

His testimony was the fullest proof that the King made use of for obtaining the Divorce; but whether he consented to it or not, it cannot be known: if he refused to do it, he was so much the worthier man:

XXVII. He tell us a long story of the different Interests to which K. Henry was leaning; at last P. 176. he says, that Cromwel signed a League in the Kings name with the German Princes, which some say, he did without the Kings knowledge, tho others say the contrary: upon which the Emperors Ambassadors reproached the King with it, but the King denying it, the discovery was made: and after a dressing up of the scene with more of his Visions, it ends in this, That Cromwel was put in Prison, yet he hoped to have justified himself for this Treaty, if he had been brought to make his Defence:

58 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
but many other things besides this, were laid to his charge; and the Law that he had procured to be passed three months before this, of condemning men without hearing them, was applied to himself; so he was condemned and executed the 6 of July; his body being cut up, as is usual to Traitors, and Quartered. And to justify all this, he cites on the margin *Cromwells Process*. But that *Process*, or rather the *Act of Parliament*, that condemned him, is in Print, taken from the Record, in which there is not one word of all this business, of signing a *League* with Foreign Princes without the King's orders. 2. No such thing can be done according to our forms. *Ambassadors* that have formal powers can sign *Leagues*, but the *Ministers* about the King cannot bind him, nor sign *Leagues* without him: and no *Prince* would have either asked or accepted any such thing. 3. All that is objected to *Cromwell* in his condemnation, is so Inconsiderable, that it is plain there was no great matter against him; some Malversations and illegal Warrants, some high boasting words; is all that is to be found in his *Attainder*. 4. There was no such *Law* ever made; for

for Parliaments do not make Laws, with relation to their own proceedings: but this practice was indeed begun, not three Months, but a full year before this. 5. Mr. *Varillas* is incurable in his venturing upon *Dates*; for *Cromwels* Execution was not on the 6. but on the 18. of July. 6. *Cromwel* was only beheaded; it is true the Hangman did it in a butcherly manner; but all the rest is fiction, and I am not much concerned, whether *Florimond* or Mr. *Varillas* is the contriver.

XXVIII. He says, *Anne of Cleves* was terrified with a Sentence of Death, as being a Heretick, & that she was so far wrought on by that, as to become the Chief Instrument of her own Degradation; for She confessed that She had promised Marriage to another before King Henry had pretended to her; upon which her Marriage was dissolved, and She was sent back to Germany. I have already shewed the falsehood of this from the Sentence it self, that dissolved the Marriage. Nor did she ever go back to Germany, but staid still in England, being contented with the appointments  
D 6 that.

that were set off for her, and with the honour of being made the King's adopted Sister, which it seems was more supportable to her, than to return to her own Countrey with the Infamy of such a Degradation: which she indeed bore, either with the constancy of a great Philosopher, or with the insensibility of one that was extremely stupid.

XXIX. He tells us of a new *proj &c*  
of a Reconciliation with the  
P. 200. Pope, in which he is so parti-  
cular, as to set down the Ar-  
ticles that were proposed, and King  
Henry's Exceptions to them: and he  
tells us at last, *That King Henry stood*  
*so much on the point of Honour, that he*  
*brought it below his Dignity to make any*  
*Submission to the Pope.*

All this is Fiction, without the least proof: for it doth not appear, that after that proposition that was made upon Anne Bullen's fall, there was ever the least step made by either side in this matter. Our Author had heard there was one made, but not knowing where to place it, his Fancy rambled about. Indeed the King was so much alienated from

from the Court of *Rome*, that *Gardiner* and *Kneves* being sent Ambassadors to the *Diet* at this time, one discovered to *Knevet* some secret Interviews that had passed betwen *Gardiner* and the *Legate*: which *Gardiner* considered as so great an Injury to him, and as that which must have ruined him in the *Kings* Spirit, that he prosecuted the Informer as a Slanderer, and got him to be put in Prison: coacerning which, his Letters to the King are in Print: which shew clearly, that there was no such Negotiation at this time on foot, otherwise those secret Interviews could not have been such offensive things.

XXX. Mr. *Varillas* says, That the K. wh<sup>e</sup> would not submit him-self so far as to confess his Sins, P. 202. did a much meaner thing; for he accused his Queen, Katherine Howard to the Parliament, for her d. surders both before and after her Marriage with Thomas Culper and Francis Dirham, and so her Head was cut off.

There are few Writers that do not at some time or othe tell things true;

62 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
but Mr. *Varillas* must needs be an extraordinary person, and commit such Errors as no other man ever did before him. *Catharine-Howard's* Incontinence was discovered, and proved many months before the Parliament met: nor would the King at all appear in the business, as it is expressly mentioned in the Record. It were too great an Honour to our Author, to insist on such small Faults as that he names the Persons wrong.

XXXI. Nor ought I to make any great Account of his Ignorance of our English Families, since he calls *Catherine Parre* Sister to the *Earl of Essex*, who was Sister to the *Marquess of Northampton*; these things might indeed be forgiven him, if it were not that he sets them down to shew how well he is informed even in the smallest matters, which no doubt will make some Impression on strangers, who do not know our Affairs, nor our Pedigrees.

XXXII. He reproaches the Emperor P. 207. our for making a League with *Henry* against *Francis*, notwithstanding his Schism. But

But why might not *Charles* the fifth do the same thing, that *Francis* had done for seven years together? It is known, that *Francis* was not so scrupulous as to decline the making of any *League*, that might be to his Advantage, not only with *Schismaticks*, but even with *Mahometans*: & some have been so malicious as to say, that this is a maxim that some of his *Successors* have thought fit to keep up: and put in practice against the *House of Austria*.

XXXIII. Mr. *Varillas* tells us, That Richer was appointed to set on the King of Denmark against P. 293. England, and that he represented to him, that King Henry had taken occasion to come over to Picardy, at the same time that Charles the fifth entered into Champaigne with a formidable Army, and that King Henry had besieged Bulleigne, and taken it, therefore the K. of France resolved to make England the Scene of the War: and that since he knew the great pretensions that the Crown of Denmark had upon England, which his Subjects had formerly conquered, he thought the present conjuncture proper for the renewing these: so

so he invited him to share with him; and to accept the Provinces that lay over against Denmark, while the French King should seize on those that lay nearer him. Now it is to be considered, that this was in the year 1542. as he warns us by his Margin; and all this is founded, as he told us in his Preface, on Richers Negotiation, of whose Relation he makes so great an Account, telling us both, That he was the first that negotiated according to form with the Kings of the North, and owning that he had drawn his thirteenth Book out of his Memoirs, in which there are some things that by the order of time had belonged to his fifth Book, but he had not seen those Memoirs, when he writ his first Volume, therefore his Reader must forgive him if there is any disorder in the rec tal that he gives: and now from all this one would be disposed to believe, that there is some truth in this matter, and that he has really such a Book of Memoirs in his hands; but I need give no other proof to shew that all this is Imposture, save that Bulloign was not taken before the 18 of September 1544. so that all this Negotiation of Richers in

in 1542. must have been by the Spirit of Prophecy. 2. The state of *Denmark* at that time must make this project appear very ridiculous, since they were far from being in a condition to set out great fleets, and make Conquests. 3. At this time *Francis* did indeed engage the *King of Scotland* to make an Invasion into the North of *England*, which was a more reasonable project: and that which our Author might have more justly guessed at, though he had known nothing of it; for it was an easy thing to engage the *Scotts* to fall into *England*, but that was too true and too natural, therefore our Author, who loves to *Elevate* and *Surprise* his *Reader*, would needs despise the Project in *Scotland*, and so would carry it over to *Denmark*, 4. It is also no less clear, that *Francis* was at that time in no condition to make a descent upon *England*, otherwise he used the *Scotts* very ungratefully; for tho' he had engaged them in the war, yet he left them to be over-run by the *English* without giving K. *Henry* any considerable diversion. 5. But our Authors setting on the *King of Denmark* to renew pretensions

66, *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
sions of five hundred year old, is of a  
piece with the Law at *Metz*; and when  
*England* will examine its Ancient pre-  
tensions to some *Provinces* in a neigh-  
bouring *Kingdom*, as it needs not go so  
far back, so it will not be put to found  
them on hostile descents and depredati-  
ons, which was all the *pretension* that the  
*Crown of Denmark* could ever claim,  
but on clear and undisputed Rights;   
tho' I confess they have been both dis-  
continued and renounced; but I build on  
the modern Law, that neither *Pre-  
scription*, *Treaties* nor *Oaths* can cut  
off the Rights of a *Crown*, which are  
sacred and Inalienable.

Thus I have gone over his third  
*Tome*, and I think I have missed nothing  
that relates to *English Affairs*. I con-  
fess I may have passed over some parti-  
culars that may perhaps lye involved in  
other Relations, as this of *Richers* had  
almost escaped me. I have turned all  
his leaves over and over again to see for  
any thing that might relate to *England*.  
But I could not prevail with my self to  
read him all; for I am now past the  
Age of reading *Romances*.

XXXIV. Mr. *Karillas* begins his dis-  
course

course concerning English Affairs in his fourth Tome, with a Character of K. Henry's cruelty, that deserves indeed to be put in Capitals; he says, that during his Sickness, his Conscience had time to reproach him, with the 2 Cardinals, the 3 Arch-Bishops, the 18 Bishops, the 14 Arch-Deacons, the 500 Priests, Abbots and Priors, the 60 Canons, and 50 Doctors, 12 Dukes, Earls, or Barons, 29 Knights, 336 Gentlemen, and almost an infinite number of People, whom he had put to Death for establishing his Primacy over the Church of England. And because all this was so remarkable, he would not put the numbers in Cyphers, but in words at large, and by the exactness of his small numbers, a man that is not acquainted with his Talent, would be tempted to think this might be true: but what will he say, if of all those ten Items, besides the great *Et cetera* of the Infinite number, there is not one that is either true or near truth. 1. Fisher was the only person that can be called a *Cardinal*, that was put to death. 2. There was not one *Arch Bishop* that suffered; and tho' the *Arch Bishop* of York

68. *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
*Years concurred in the Yorkshire Rebellion*, yet the King included him in the Indemnity. 3. There was not one *Bishop* that suffered, unless he sub-divides *Fisher*, as he did *Charles the fifth*, and makes both a *Cardinal* and a *Bishop* out of him. 4. There is not an *Arch-Deacon* to be found among all that dyed in this Reign. 5. For the 500 *Priests*, *Abbots* and *Priors*, there were only 9 *Abbots*, 3 *Priors*, 18 *Priests*, and 9 *Monks* that suffered, which according to my Arithmetick makes only 39: but an Imagination that multiplies as Mr. *Varillas*'s does, can swell this up to 500. 6. There is but one among all that suffered that can be thought a *Canon*, *Crofts*, that is designed in the Record Chancellour of *Exeter*. 7. There is but one *Doctor*, unless *Fisher* comes into the Account again. 8. All of the *Nobility* that were executed during this reign, were one *Duke*, a *Marquess*, 3 *Earls*, and 3 *Lords*, which make 8, but this comes nearest his number; yet since the *Marquess* that suffered was K. *Henry*'s Cosen *German*, he might have put *Marquesses* among the degrees of the Peers that he reckons up, as well as the

the rest. 9. There were only ten *Knights* that were put to death; so the 19 more are of his creating. 10. There are only 33 others that suffered, of which some were only *Yeomen*, to make up his 336 *Gentlemen*; and now I have set down the list exactly of all that died, by the hand of justice in this Reign; so that there is not a man left for his &c. of almost an *Infinite number of people*. But besides this, all these except only 12 persons, suffered either for being in actual Rebellion, or for entring into Conspiracies for the raising of one; so small was the number of those who suffered for denying the *King's Supremacy*, and even of these a distinction is to be considered, which I must explain, because some have fancied, that I had contradicted my self in different parts of my *History*, having said in some places, that none suffered for not acknowledging the *King's Supremacy*, and having set forth in other places, that men died for denying it. But the refusing to swear the Oath of *Supremacy* was only punishable at first with a *Premunire*, that is loss of *Liberty and Goods*, so that those who suffered were not condemned for  
refu-

refusing to swear that Oath, but for their having spoken against the *Supremacy* : now the refusing to swear it, and the speaking against it, are two different things ; which some have confounded. It is true, afterwards a *Law* was made, declaring it to be *High Treason to refuse to swear the Supremacy*. But no man ever suffered upon that *Law*; for no man ever refused it after that *Law* was made. And thus we see what we may expect from our Author after such a beginning.

XXXV. He says, King Henry seemed to repent of what he had done when he was near Death, and that he spake with Gardiner concerning it, who upon that advised him to call a Parliament. But the falsehood of this is too visible ; for there was a Parliament then sitting which was dissolved by the King's Death.

XXXVI. He says, The Church of the Franciscans was opened in London, 25 dayes before his death ; and he had said before that King Henry was 57 year of Age compleat when he dyed. This

This Church that he represents as the *Cordelier's Church*, was indeed opened; but it was in order to the making it an *Hospital*, and was no more the *Cordelier's Church*. But now I will shew Mr. *Varillas*, how just I am to him: for I think I am bound to take notice that this date is right: For tho' it is of no great consequence, yet it is the first that I have found him give true: and perhaps it is true, because it is of no consequence: but he is above a full year wrong in matter of greater importance, which is King *Henry's Age*; for he was born the 28 of *June* 1491. So the 27th of *January* or the 28th, for he dyed in the night between them 1547. he wanted five months of six and fifty: So natural is it for Mr. *Varillas* to mislead his Reader in every thing.

XXXVII. He says, *The disorder of the Kings Marriages, and the three Children that he had by three of them, gave grounds to apprehend a Civil War upon his Death, against which he provided by putting his only Son Edward first in the Succession. But out of what part of our Authors study*

study of the Law, did he find this, that a Son of an unquestioned Marriage on all hands, could receive any opposition from two Sisters, both born in Marriages that had been questioned. The Succession had been also expressly regulated by *Act of Parliament*, and the Kings power of disposing of it by his *Testament* was only in default of all his own Children, or of issue by them.

XXXVIII. He gives us a character of the Duke of *Somerset* P. 64. that shews how well he knew him: he says, *He had an Extraordinary Capacity, and a Penetration of Spirit superior to the greatest Affairs.* The D. of *Somerset* was indeed a man of great probity; but his Capacity and Penetration of Spirit were far from Extraordinary. Mr. *Varillas* thought those strokes were magnificent, so he did not trouble himself, whether they were true or false.

XXXIX. Mr. *Varillas* tells us, *That* P. 65. *Somerset represented to the English Nobility, the Inconvenience of having 16 Governours for their young King, as King Henry had*

had determined it: and that three parts of four of these were most zealous for reconciling England to the See of Rome; and so no doubt they would breed up the King in those Sentiments, and by consequence as soon as the King came of Age, he would annul all that his Father had done, which would ruin the whole Nobility: and that since it was much fitter to have only one Regent, he engaged to them, that if they would pitch on him, he should take care of the Kings Education, and should be so far from disturbing the Nobility in the possession of the Church Lands, that he should grant them all the Ratifications that should be necessary: all this was so well received, that King Henry's true Testament was suppressed, and a new one was forged, by which Somerset was declared Regent and Protector; which surprised all those who had the chief Interest to maintain the Government during the Minority, in the state in which King Henry had left it.

1. King Henry died the 28th of January, upon which the young King was presently brought up to London, and upon the first of February

74 · *Reflections on the Third & Fourth  
Somerset* was declared *Protector*.  
2. This was not done by the Interposi-  
tion of the *Nobility*, but by the consent  
of the major part of the sixteen *Gover-  
nours*, whom King *Henry* had named ;  
and the Original Instrument of this  
under all their hands, is yet extant. 3.  
There was no new *Will* forged ; for  
that which was then published, was the  
same that made all the sixteen equal in  
power : and *Somerset* had the Title of  
*Protector* given him by these only, with  
this express Condition, *That he should  
do nothing without the Advice and Con-  
sent of the rest*. Nor was it ever pre-  
tended, that King *Henry* had ordered  
it so by his *Will* : so all that Negotiati-  
on with the *Nobility*, is to pass for a  
Fiction of Mr *Varillas*'s, or of some o-  
ther that is about his pitch of sincerity.

XL. He says, *Wriothesly the Chancellour  
was the only person that com-  
P. 67. plained of this* ; but that was  
made use of as a pretence to send  
him away from the Court.

¶ *Wriothesly the Chancellour per-  
haps did not like *Somerset*'s Advance-  
ment* ; but he signed it with the rest.  
2. The

2. The Pretext upon which he was turned out, was the passing an illegal Patent, for divolving the Execution of his Office, in the matters of Justice to some other persons, which being contrary to Law, he to redeem himself from a further Censure, resigned his place.

XLI. He says, *Somerset forbad the Bishops to confer Orders without the Kings permission, and made them come up to London to obtain it, and that he granted it only for a limited time, and during pleasure: and that he forced the new Preachers to take their Mission for it under the Kings Name; and by this means he hindred those to preach who were able to defend the Catholick Doctrines.* And for the Proof of all this, he cites the Ordinances of Edward the Sixth. There is a particular misfortune on Mr. *Varillas* in all he writes: for tho' there was indeed an *Act of Parliament*, passed before the end of this Year, that did very much subject the *Bishops* in many things to the *Regal power*; yet there is a special exception in it of Collations, or Presentations to Benefices,

and of Letters of Orders in which no Limits were set them. 2. The Licences that were given to Preachers, were only Civil things, being Permissions to preach; but there was nothing of Mission pretended to be in them. 3. Tho' the King did Licence some Preachers, to preach in any part of *England*, yet the Bishops retained still their Authority of granting them within their own *Diocesses*. 4. That which Mr. *Varillas* perhaps relates to, in some parts of this Period, is, that under King *Edward*, the Bishops were obliged to take out new Commissions from the King, such as they had taken out under King *Henry*, for holding their *Bishapricks* during the Kings pleasure. This *Bonner*, and some of the other Popish Bishops, had first set on foot under King *Henry*, hoping by so abject a Submission to gain much credit with him: but *Cranmer* prevailed so far as to get this to be quickly laid aside. And now all these things shew that our Author is still as careful as he was in his Citations.

XLII. He pretends, *That Cranmer set out at this time a Catechism, which Inclined*

inclined more to the Lutheran Doctrine, upon which the Protector looked down upon him, not thinking it fit to carry his displeasure farther. Cranmer could not know to what the Protector's coldness was to be ascribed, but fancying that a further Declaration of himself was expected, he professed himself a Lutheran, and took a Wife, whom he had seduced while he was in Germany, and had entertained ever after as a Concubine.

1. Cranmer did not set out his Catechism, till about two years after this. 2. Somerset and He were always in a very perfect Friendship. 3. He had married his Wife before he came out of Germany, and had owned it to King Henry. It is true, upon the *Act* of the six Articles he had sent her over to Germany, so that all he did at this time, was only to bring her over again, and to own her more publickly.

XLIII. I pass over what he says here of Latimers Degradation, having reflected on that formerly: he says, *The Duke of Somerset set two men about the King for his Education; the one was Richard* P. 69. 77. Croc,

Croc, and the other was John Cheek a Libertine, that every day gave new cause of Scandal.

But 1. These who were trusted with the Education of King *Edward*, were no other than those that his Father had set about him, ever since he was six Year old, as is set down by that young King in the *Journal* of his own *Life*, writ with his own hand. 2. Our Author it seems knows both their Names and their Characters alike ; for he, whom he calls *Croc*, was *Cox* ; and for Sr. *John Cheek*, he was not only one of the learnedest, but was esteemed one of the vertuousest Gentlemen of his Age : he was indeed prevailed on through fear, to sign an *Abjuration* of his Religion in Queen *Mary*'s days ; but that did so strike him, that he not only went out of *England* quickly, and made an open *Retraction* of what he had done, but was so affected with the sense of it, that he could never overcome it, but fell into a *Languishing*, of which he soon after dyed.

XLIV. He says, *That Bucer avowed to the Duke of Northumberland, that he*

he did not believe all that was said of Jesus Christ in the New Testament. P. 96.

1. Sanders who very probably made this Story, said, it was to the Lord Pa-  
get that *Bucer* said this; but now the man is changed. 2. If this had been said to the Duke of *Northumberland*, it is very probable that when he declared his Aversion to the *Reformed Religion*, and to the Preachers of it, at his death, this, which was beyond all other things, would have been mentioned. 3. Or at least, when *Bucers* Process was made, and his Body burnt, this would have been very probably made use of, if the Lye had been then made. 4. No man of that Age writ with a greater sense of the Kingdom of Christ, than *Bucer* did, in the Book on that subject which he writ for King *Edwards* use.

XLV. He tells us, *That on the fourth of November, 1547. at London, a new form of Religion was set up, which as to the Doctrine was almost the same with Calvinism; but they retained the Rites and the exterior of Lutheranism; they* *Ibid.*

30 Reflections on the Third & Fourth  
appointed all the Church-Lands of En-  
gland to be annexed to the Crown, and  
never to be again dissolved from it: they  
also appointed, that there should be a new  
form of Administ'ring the Sacraments,  
different from the Roman: that Bish'ps  
and Priests should be ordained by this Form:  
that Images, which were yet held in rever-  
ence in some places, for the Miracles  
that had been wrought before them, should  
be taken away; and the Kings Arms put  
in their stead: that the Roman Missal  
should be abolished, and that the Sacrament  
should be given in both kinds; and in fine,  
that the Divine Offices, and above all the  
Canon of the Liturgy, should be said only  
in English, tho' the Irish and Welsh, who  
were almost as numerous as the English,  
understood that Language no more than  
they did the Latin. And thus by a Revo-  
lution that will appear almost incredible  
to those who know perfectly the Genius of  
the English Nation, they peaceably chan-  
ged their Religion, under a Minority,  
without any Opposition.

Here much patience is requisite to  
read or examine such a confusion of  
matters, as Mr. Varillas gives us all  
at

at once. But 1. The new form of *Religion* was not set out till five years after this, in the year 1552. 2. The *Church-Lands* were never annexed to the Crown; but Mr. *Varillas*'s mistake is, that those *Chantry-Lands*, that had not been suppressed by King *Henry*, were indeed given to King *Edward* by an Act that passed not the fourth of November, but the fourteenth of December, 1547. 3. The new form of Administiring the *Sacraments* was not set out till the fifteenth of January, 1549. 4. The new form of *Ordinations* was not set out before the year 1550. 5. *Images* were ordered to be all removed by an Order from the Council the eleventh of February 1548. 6. There was never an Order made for setting up the *King's Arms* in the Churches, tho it was done in most places. 7. Our Author had said, that a new form of Administiring the *Sacraments* different from the *Roman* was appointed, and now as in a new Article he tells us, that the *Roman Missal* was abolished; but this is one of the Indications from which we may measure his profound Judgment. 8. He puts at the end

82 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
that the *Sacrament* was appointed to be  
given in both kinds, whereas this was  
done first of all in an *Act* that past  
the twentieth of *December*, 1547.

9. He very Learnedly makes a distinc-  
tion between the *Divine Offices*, and  
the *Canon* of the *Liturgy*, tho as they  
are in themselves one and the same  
thing, they are likewise used promiscu-  
ously in *England*. 10. The Law for the  
*Service in English* did not extend to  
*Ireland*, and care was taken to put it  
quickly into *Welch*. 11. It seems he  
knows the estimate of our Numbers  
as well as he does other things, who  
says, the *Welch* and *Irish* are as many  
almost as the *English*; whereas they  
are not perhaps above the tenth  
man to the *English*. 12. Thus we  
see his fruitful fourth of *November*,  
1547. which he had made so productive,  
is stript of all, and not any one of all  
those great Changes belonging to it. But  
to comfort Mr. *Varillas* a little, I will  
tell him, that the *Parliament* that en-  
acted one or two of the things he  
names, was indeed opened the fourth  
of *November*, 1547. but it is long  
after a *Parliament* is opened, before an

*Act.*

It is passed : and thus it appears, that all that sudden change, was a Dream of our Author.

XLVI. He says, *There were five Bishops, London, Winchester, Durham, Chichester, and Worcester, and some of the most learned in the House of Commons, that opposed these things ; but yet as soon as they were discredited, they complied, and professed the new Religion.*

There were many of the other Bishops that opposed them, as well as those five ; nor did they ever concur with that which he calls the *new Religion* ; for they were all turned out of their Bishopricks before the year 1552. in which the Articles of our Religion were agreed on, and set out by Authority. So that if our Author had known the Story better, he should have valued them as *Confessors* ; for though they comply'd in a great many things, yet it appears that they were still true to their old persuasions ; upon which they fell in trouble, and were not only turned out illegally, but kept in prison for several years, till Queen Mary set them at liberty.

XLVII. He says, *That King Henry had ordered the Bible to be printed correctly, and that he had put with it Erasmus's last Paraphrase on the New Testament*; but the Duke of Somerset found this Translation did not so well agree with the Doctrine of the Sacramentary's, so he ordered a new Translation to be made, that was more favourable to their figurative expressions. At which the Presses wrought so long, till there was not only a sufficient number of Copies Printed off for all the Parish Churches, but likewise for all that could read.

There was no new Translation of the Bible thought on during this reign; for that was done in Queen Elizabeth's time: so that King Henry's continued all this Reign. Nor had King Henry put Erasmus's Paraphrase either with the Bible, or in Churches; for that was done by the Duke of Somerset; and Gardiners Letters to him are yet extant and in Print, complaining of that Paraphrase in a great many particulars. So constantly mistaken is our Author even in matters concerning which it had been easy for him to have found

found better Information.

XLVIII. Mr. Varillas tells us, that the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of Chester, Mena and *Ibid.* Sadore comply'd outwardly as Sacramentaries; but lived in the secret practice of the Catholick Religion: Somerset was informed of this, so he ordered some to tell them, that they were the only Prelates of England, that were opposite to the publick Religion: and therefore the King desired to be satisfied in that matter: so the tryal that was required of them, was, that they should marry: which though it was somewhat uneasy, to men past threescore, yet they comply'd, even in this: and Somerset having by this means rendred them very contemptible, did not only banish them, but put them in prison: and he treated other Bishops in the same manner for their defending the Catholick Religion in full Parliament, tho they had done it very freely.

1. I find Mr. Varillas is as Ignorant in Geography, as he is in Chronology: for among all the Bishopricks of England, he will neither find *Mena* nor *Sadore*. 2. There is indeed an *Island*, that lyes between *England* and *Ireland*,

land, that is a Sovereignty, belonging to the Earl of *Derby*. But the Island is *Min*, or in Latin *Mona*, but was never called *Mena*. In this Island there is a Bishop, who is called *Bishop of Min*, but he writes it in Latine *Sodore*: so this is wrong put by Mr. *Varillas Sodore*; yet these may be faults of the Press: but the making two Bishoprics out of one, and the making this *Bishop* subject to the King of *England*, and receiving Orders from the Protector, are Faults that he cannot turn over upon his Compositor. 3. It does not appear that either the Archbishop of *York*, or the Bishop of *Chester*, did ever oppose any thing in *Parliament*: for tho' many of the other Bishops voted against the changes that were made in matters of Religion, as appears by the Journals of the House of *Lords*, yet these two concurred in every thing: and all *Henry's* time, *Holgate* was considered still as one united to *Cranmer*; and he was by his Interest raised to the *See of York*: as for the Bishop of *Chester*, I confess I know no particulars. 4. It is true that they were both married; for I found a Commission

mission issued out by Queen *Mary* for turning them out, because of their Marriage: but it is certain that they were neither in disgrace, nor in prison, all King *Edwards* Reign: for the Archbishop of *York* was all this while in High Favour. *s.* *England* is not a Countrey in which the displeasure of a *Regent*, or even *Letters under the Cachet* can either *Banish* or *Imprison* men, chiefly when that is founded only on some suspitions. No; it is a Countrey governed by Law: but it seems Mr. *Varillas* had his head full of somewhat nearer him when he writ this.

XLIX. He sets out the *Constancy* of *Queen Mary*, during her Brothers, Reign, and that She continued firm in the Religion of her Ancestors: that tho' *Somerset* brought the *Italian Divines* *Martyr* and *Ochin* to her, to convince her, She answered all their Objections with great vigor; She spoke stoutly to *Somerset*; She interrupted the *Privy Councillours*, when they spoke to her of those matters; and she would never hear any of their Sermons, but one only. In short,

short, that she threatned those, that threatned her: and told them, a time would come in which they sh.uld answer for that. Her constancy was such, that at last Somerset desired only, that she would at least shut her Chappel doors when Mass was said; but even in that she satisfied him as little as in other things.

Here are so many lovely strokes, that it is a great Pity they are all false.

1. Some Letters past between the *Protector* and her, that are in Print; but it does not appear that ever he spoke to her upon this Subject.
2. She never pretended to be of the Religion of her Ancestors; but by all her Letters she declared, she was of the Religion that her Father had setied: and she always insisted on his Laws, pretending that in a Minority they could not be altered.
3. She spoke *French* well, and understood *Latin*; but she could neither speak *Italian*, nor *Latin*: so she could have no conversation neither with *P. Martyr*, nor *Ochin*: nor is this named among all the Letters that were writ concerning this business.
4. She would never hear any one

one Sermon; so here the Character was as much slackened, as it was raised in the other parts of this paragraph. For when Bishop Ridley went to her, and offered to preach before her, she told him plainly, that she would never hear any one of them. 5. The *Princess* was too discreet to threaten her Brothers *Ministers*, or to talk of a time in which they might be called to an account for what they did: for such Language never comes from Collateral Heirs, unless they are extream indiscreet. 6. The great dispute with the *Princess*, fell out after *Somerset's* disgrace, and was chiefly set on by the King her *Brother*, who could hardly be prevailed with by the *Privy Council*, to consent to her having *Mass* still said in her Chappel; and after he had talked with her himself upon that matter, he sets down these words concerning the Resolution that was taken, in his Journal. *The Bishops of Canterbury, Londov, Ro- chester, did consider, to give licence to sin was sin: to suf- fer and wink at it for a time, might be born, so all*

The 20th:  
day of  
March  
1550.

hast

90 Reflections on the Third & Fourth  
best possible might be used.

L. He says, There is no appearance  
that King Edward could live

P. 103. till he should be of Age, so that  
Princess Mary was considered  
not only as the Presumptive, but as the ne-  
cessary Heir of the Crown. But at this  
time the Prince of Spain lost his Wife,  
and Charles the fifth comforted himself  
with the hopes of uniting England to  
his other Dominions by marrying his Son  
to her ; so the Emperour resolved to pro-  
tect her, and sent Vargas both to en-  
treat, and if that prevailed not, to threa-  
ten Somerset, in case he gave any further  
disturbance to her, upon which he was  
forced to let that matter fall.

All this is so false, that the Empe-  
rour set on a Treaty of Marriage for  
the Princess with the Prince of Portugal,  
of which I gave an account in my Hi-  
story : but since that time a Volum  
of Original Letters has been sent me  
by the Heirs of Sir Phillip Hoby, who  
was then Ambassador in the Emperours  
Court : in which I find more particu-  
lars relating both to this Marriage,  
and to the Princesses permission for ha-  
ving Miss in her House. There is  
one

one Letter, dated the 19. of March, 1550. signed by all the Council, in which they write, that since the Infant of *Portugal* was only the *Kings Brother*, they give up the Treaty for the Match: yet the *Emperour* insisted on the proposition that he had made: so there is another Original Letter, dated the 20. of *April* thereafter, in which they desire to hear all the particulars that related to the *Infant of Portugal*, and in that they write, That as for the *Lady Mary's Mass*, they had formerly connived at it, but now stricter Laws were made: they had connived so long, hoping that at last she would be prevailed upon: but that a diversity of Rites in matters of Religion was not tolerable, therefore they would grant her no Licence, yet they would connive at her a little longer: but She abused the young King, Goodness, for she kept as it were open Church both for her Servants and Neighbours. They therefore conclude, wishing that the *Emperour* would give her good advise in this matter. This Letter, of which I had the Original long in my hands, is signed by ten *Privy Councillors*, and will be I suppose a little better believed,

lieved, than the quotation that Mr. Varillas sets on his Margin of *Vargas's Negotiation*; and all this was transacted after the Duke of Somersets Disgrace.

LI. He tells us a long story of the methods that the Admiral used  
 P. 122. to compass the Marriage of the Queen Dowager: and the ways he took to engage his Brother Somerset, to consent to it. Somerset moved it to the King, who consented to it likewise, so that the Marriage was made up in hast, and without any solemnity

Mr. Varillas knows this matter, as he does other things, notwithstanding the shew he makes, by citing on the Margin the *Relation of that Intrigue*, which is another of his Impostures; for by the Articles that were objected to the Admiral, which are in print, and of which the *Original* is yet extant in the *Council Book*, it appears that the Admiral had first courted the Kings Sister *Elisabeth*, and that failing in this design, he afterwards married the *Queen Dowager* so secretly, that none knew of it, and so indecently, that if she had become with Child soon after the marriage, there would have been

been a great doubt whether the Child should have been accounted *K.* *Henry's* or *His*: that he kept the Marriage long secret, & he prevailed with the *King* to write to the *Q. Dowager*, and with his *Brother* to speak to her in his Favour: and when all this was done, then the Marriage was declared. So that all his Fictions of *Somerset's* design of marrying his *Daughter* to the *King*, and of the Remonstrances that the *Admiral* made to his *Brother*, as well as his *Citation*, are manifestly false.

LII. He sets out the common story of the *Duches of Somersets* Disputing the Place with the *P. 125.* *Q. Dowager*: and as if it had been a great Affair, he spends two Pages arguing both their Pretensions. He reckons up the *Duke of Somersets* Dignities, 1. *He was the King's Gover-  
nour.* 2. *He was Regent of the King-  
dom.* 3. *He was Protector of the En-  
glish Nation*, a dignity inferiour to none of the other, which was not much inferiour to the *Dictatorship* among the *Ancient Romans*: and on the other hand, the *Admiral* was the *second Office of the Crown*, and a *Charge for Life*.

So

So that here was as he thought a Section fit to be Copied out by those who would treat of Precedence. But 1. I have shewed fully, that all this quarrel of Precedence among the Ladies seems a Fiction ; for it is not mentioned in all that time. 2. The Offices of State in *England*, do not communicate any Honour to the Wife : So that the Queen *Dowager* had either still her rank of Queen *Dowager*, or she was only a *Baroness*, her Husband the Admiral being only a *Baron*. As the Dutches of *Somerset* had only the rank of a Dutches. 3. It is clear that the Q. *Dowager* retained her rank, and was mentioned in all the publick Prayers, even before the Kings Sister. 4. All those three places that Mr. *Varillas* gives *Somerset*, were but one single Office, and held by one single Patent ; for to be *Protector* and *Regent* is the same thing in *England*. His comparing the Protectors Dignity to that of the *Roman Dictators*, is another stroke of his ill-will to the Crown of *England* ; for among the *Romans* all other Offices ceased, when there was a *Dictator* : so if this were in the *English Law*,

*Law*, here were a short way of Dethroning our Kings. 5. The Admiral is far from being the second Office of the Crown; for it only has the Precedence of all those that are of the same rank; so that the Admiral was only in rank the first *Baron of England*: and though the great Navies that have been built since that time, have made it indeed the first Office, as to the real value of it, yet it was but an ordinary elevation when there were no *Royal Fleets*.

6. The Admiral's charge is forfeitable as well as any other in *England*, and of this a remarkable Instance appeared in the year 1673. 7. The true occasion of the Quarrel between the *Brothers*, was, that though the *Protector* was *Governour* of the King's Person, yet these two trusts had been sometimes divided. so the Admiral pretended to be made the *Governour* of the King's Person, and this gave his *Brother* just cause of Jealousy. He had engaged all that were about the King in his Interests, and had once got the young King to write a Letter to the *Parliament*, recommending it to them. The *Protector* was twice willing to be reconciled

ciled to him, after great Quarrellings ; but his Ambition was incurable. Now since all this Process and the Articles against the *Admiral* are printed from the Original Records, it is like Mr. *Varillas* to falsify this matter as he does.

LIII. He tells a long Story, of a Sermon of Latimers, in which  
P. 129. He named the Admiral as one that disturbed the Regency : and this was done by Somerset's direction ; yet he seemed offended when it was told him ; and sent for Latimer, and ordered him to retract that which he had said concerning his Brother. But Latimer reply'd boldly, that he knew the Admiral had lay'd a design against the Kings Life, which he thought himself bound to discover : upon this the Duke of Somerset ordered the Judges to take his deposition ; yet he threaten'd to proceed against him with the utmost severity, if he were found to be a false Accuser. Latimer had his Witnesses laid, and the Conspiracy was proved, upon which Somerset seem'd to be very much troubled ; yet he said, he must prefer the King's Safety to all Considera-

federations whatsoever: So he signed a Warrant for his Brothers Imprisonment, his process upon that was made, and he was found guilty of High Treason, and condemned to be quartered, which was accordingly executed the 20. of March, 1549.

I do not know how it comes that in such a series of Falsehoods, our Author has hit the date right: But it is the only Circumstance of this whole Recital that is true. For 1, It is true *Latimer* in a Sermon at Court reflecting on the *Atheism* of some about the *King*, described the *Admiral*, who was a Man that laughed at Religion: But this had nothing to do with the *State*, and nothing followed upon it.

2. The *Admiral* had broke out the former year, and thought to have made a Rent in the *Parliament*: yet that had been made up, and *Somerset* had made him a very considerable grant out of the Lands of the *Crown*; but he laid his Design next year deeper, he bought Magazines of Arms, and listed many men: he intended to have carried away the *King*, and had ordered much False Money to be coined: so that all

98 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
this being discovered, he was clapt in  
the Tower: yet a moneth past before  
the matters against him were brought  
in to the *Parliament*: and during that  
time, *Somerset* tryed, if it was possible  
to bring him to a better Mind, but all  
was in vain. 3. He was not tryed by a  
Common Court of *Peers*, but was con-  
demned by *Act of Parliament*. 4.  
There was not a word said in the whole  
Process, of any Design on the Kings  
Life: On the contrary, he had gained  
so much upon the young *King*, that  
this gave the greatest Jealousy of all.  
5. He was not quartered, but only  
beheaded: For the Original Warrant  
for his Execution is yet extant in the  
Books of *Council*, signed by all the  
Privy Councillours, that mentions ex-  
pressly, *That he should be beheaded, and*  
*that his Head and Body should be buried*  
*in the Tower*. And now is not Mr. *Va-*  
*rillas* a very credible Author?

LIV. Our Author sets down the  
Agony, into which the Admi-  
P. 131. ral's Death threw his Wife,  
and after he had turned this  
as Romantically as he could, he makes  
her to dye, so soon after her Husband,

that she was buried at the same time with him.

But if Mr. *Varillas* had seen the Articles upon which the *Admiral* was condemned, he would have found that the *Queen Dowager* was dead long before, (for she died in the *September* preceding, and as was suspected of *poison*) and that after her death, he had renewed his Pretensions to the *Kings* second Sister, *Elizabeth*, which is reckoned among his Crimes, as it was certainly a very great one: And is it not now a great pity to see so tender a stroke in the *Romance* spoiled?

LV. Mr. *Varillas* tells us a long Story of the *Earl of Warwick's* *Designs to dismount Somerset*: P. 133. for doing which the two occasions that presented themselves were, First, the taking of several Forts in the *Bolognese*, and that as the English had often failed in observing the *Law of Nations*, so the French treated them in the same manner, and put all that they took *Prisoners*, to the *Edge of the Sword*: That the English *Souldiers* who came over, complained that the Forts that were lost, could not be longer de-

100 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
fended for want of Provisions; that upon this Warwick advised some Malecontents, to demand the calling of a Parliament: And persuaded Somerset likewise to agree to it. The other was a general Insurrection that was among the Commons of England against the Nobility: Upon which Warwick likewise pressed Somerset to call a Parliament. So the Members were all chosen by the Earl of Warwicks Means. There appeared before them more Accusers and Witnesses against the Duke of Somerset, than was needful for destroying him: upon which he was put in Prison the 14. of October 1549.

How it comes that Mr. *Varillas* has thus given two Dates one after another true, amidst so much Falsehood, is that which amazes me. But the rest of this Section is writ in his ordinary strain. Yet before I open that, I will take the liberty to set down a passage relating to King *Henry the Second* invading the *Bolognese*, which I have found in an Original Letter of the *Councils*, writ to Sr. *Philip Hobby*, tho Mr. *Varillas* will perhaps tell me upon it, that I have done an irreparable Injury, to

to the Memory of that *King*. In that Letter that bears date the seventh of *September, 1549.* and is signed by the Duke of *Somerset* and seven other Councillors, they write, *That the King of France had corrupted two, that had the Charge of one of the Forts, which was by that means lost, and this occasioned the loss of the other Forts; they were surprised with this Invasion:* For on the 20. of *July last*, the French King had promised to their Ambassador, *par la foy d'un Gentilhomme*, *that he would not make War without giving warning first:* And yet he having heard of the *Progress of the Insurrections* that were in the several parts of *England*, *broke his Word four days after he made it.*

That was indeed thought strange in those days, but in our days it would not appear extraordinary: since we have seen- Promises publickly made, and broken in the very time in which they were made.

But now to return to Mr. *Varillas*, 1. He forgot to mention the *Western Rebellion*, that hapned a little before that rising of the Commons against

the Gentry: Tho this was not kindly done of him, since it was by his Friends, the *Zealous Catholicks*, who declared openly, *That the Change made in Religion, was the reason of their Rising.*

2. There was no demand made of a *Parliament*; nor was there any need of calling or choosing one; for there was one then on foot, running in a *Prorogation*. 3. Those *Insurrections* were all quieted before there was any opposition made to the Duke of *Somerset's* Government. 4. He was not at all questioned in *Parliament*, but in *Council*; for the greatest part of the *Councillors* went to *London*, and joyned with the *City* to demand the *King* out of his hands, whom he had carried to *Windsor*: And he finding that he was not able to stand againit so strong a Party, submitted himself to them, upon which he was not only turned out of his *Protectorship*, but was also sent to the *Tower*. And is not Mr. *Varrillas* a fit Person to undertake the writing of *History*, who does not know the most Publick and the most Important Transactions of those times.

LVI. The next time that Mr. *Varrillas*

rittas returns to English Affairs, he tells us, That P. 298. Dudley, Earl of Warwick, made head against the Duke of Somerset, and threw him out of the Government, clapt him in Prison, and cut off his Head according to form.

Now I lookt over and over again to see if there was an *a linea* here, because there was an Interval of two years between: for the Duke of *Somerset* came again into a Share in the Government, with the rest, and was not beheaded before *January 1552.* above two year after this. Mr. *Varillas* had excused the like Error in another place, by telling me, that he had begun *a linea*. And so by that, I should have known that there was an Interval of two years: but that being omitted here, I hope he will forgive my taking notice of it.

LVII. After this he gives a long *Negotiation* between *Dudley* now *Duke of Northumberland*, and P. 300. the Court of *France*: which I must conclude to be all a Fiction; for I never saw the least mark of any thing like it, in all the Papers of that time. There is in this a lovely dash of a

104 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
Pen in the character of Mr. *de Novailles*, which, no doubt Mr. *Varillas* hopes will draw him some Recompence from his Heirs. It is the greatest that can possibly be given, but it is certain that it is as true as the other things that our Author gives out so

liberally: he says, *that his foresight went so far, that the first advance that those who treated with him made, was sufficient to make him discover that which lay hid in their Intentions what care soever they took to disguise them.* But I allow him to go on in such excessive praises, only I wish he were a little less excessive in something else, that I will not name.

P. 301. LVIII. He pretends here, *That both King Edward's Sisters, Elizabeth, as well as Mary, made open Profession of the Catholic Religion.* The contrary to this is so well known, that tho' it was often objected to Queen *Elizabeth*, that she had dissembled her *Religion* in her Sister Queen *Mary's* time, it was never so much as once objected to her; that she had professed *Popery* in King *Edward's* time.

LIX. After a series of things that are equally true and pertinent, he tells us, that when the D. of Northumberland got the Marriage of Jean Grey for his Son Guilford; her two Sisters were married to the Earles of Pembrok and Huntington.

P. 310.  
But I have warned him not to meddle with Genealogies: yet nothing will prevail upon him. The Duke of Northumberland married his second Daughter to the Earl of Huntington, his eldest having married to Sidney, the Earl of Leicester's Ancestor, in whose Arms King Edward dyed. Lady Jean Gray's second Sister was indeed married to the Earl of Pembrok's eldest Son, and her third Sister that was crooked, was married to one Keyes, an ordinary Gentleman.

LX. He says, Upon this nothing remained for the Duke of Northumberland to do, but to forge a Testament for King Edward, by which both his Sisters and the Queen of Scotland were excluded from the Succession: his Sisters as being both Bastards; and the Queen of Scotland because born

106 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth  
out of the Kingdom: So that the Success-  
sion came to the Dutches of Suffolk's  
Daughters.*

All this with all the other particulars mentioned by Mr. *Varillas*, which are too many to be set down, are all false. In the Declaration that King *Edward* made, there is no special exclusion of his *Sisters*, or of the *Queen of Scots*, tho' they are in effect excluded, the *Daughters of Suffolk* being declared the next Heirs. 2. This was not done by a *Testament*, but by a *Declaration* made in *Council*, all writ with the King's own *Hand*; upon which an *Act of Council* was also signed by all the Board: And then *Letters Patents* were passed under the Seal conform to it. 3. There was no possibility of Forgery here, for it was done too solemnly to admit of that: And here I will publish the Discovery that I have made in that matter, since I writ my *History*. The *Original Paper* all writ with K. *Edward's* own *Hand*, and the *original Act of Council*, signed by all the *Council*, have come into my Hands: And as I kept them long enough by me, to shew them to many persons, so I have

I have thought fit to publish them here, as Papers that are extremely curious: And I would gladly do somewhat that may be a better entertainment to the Reader, than the constant Discovery of a series of Errors, which come so thick one upon another, that there is not any one part sound.

---

## K. EDWARD'S Device for the Succession.

“ **F**or lack of Issue Male of  
“ my Body, to the Issue Male  
“ coming of the Issue Female, as I  
“ have after declared, to the Lady  
“ Francis's Heirs Males, if She  
“ have any; for lack of such If-  
“ sue before my death, to the L.  
“ Jane, and her Heir's Males; to  
“ the L. Katherine's Heir's Males;  
“ to the L. Marie's Heir's Males;  
“ to the Heirs Males of the Daugh-  
“ ters which She shall have here-  
“ after; then to the L. Marget's

F 6. Heir's

“ Heir’s Males ; for lack of such  
“ Issue to the Heir’s Males of  
“ the Lady *Janes* Daughters ; to  
“ the Heirs Males of the L. *Kathe-*  
“ *rin’s* Daughters, and so forth, till  
“ you come to the L. *Marget’s*  
“ Heirs Males.

“ 2. If after my death the Heir  
“ Male be entered into 18 year  
“ old, then he to have the whole  
“ Rule and Governance thereof.

“ 3. But if he be under 18. then  
“ his Mother to be Governess till  
“ he enter 18 year old ; but to do  
“ nothing without the Advice and  
“ Agreement of six, parcel of a  
“ Council, to be pointed by my  
“ Last Will, to the Number of  
“ Twenty.

“ 4. If the Mother dye before  
“ the Heir enter into 18. the  
“ Realm to be governed by the  
“ Council, provided that after he  
“ be 14 year, all great matters of  
“ importance be opened to him.

“ 5. If

“\* 5. If I died without Issue,  
“and there were none Heir Male,  
“then the Lady *Francis* to be Go-  
“verness Regent; for lack of her,  
“her eldest Daughters, and for  
“lack of them, the L.*Marget* to be  
“Governess after, as is aforesaid,  
“till some Heir Male be born,  
“and then the Mother of that  
“Child to be Governess.

“6. And if during the Rule of  
“the Governess there dye four of  
“the Council, then shall She by  
“her Letters call an Assembly  
“of the Council, within one  
“month following, and choose  
“four more, wherein She shall  
“have three Voices; but after her  
“death, the 16. shall choose a-  
“mong themselves till the Heir  
“come to 14 year old, and then he  
“by their Advise shall choose  
“them.

*The*

\* These two last Paragraphs and what is  
printed in a different Character, are dasht  
out, yet so as to be legible.

*The Order of K. EDWARD  
the Sixth, and of his Privy Coun-  
cil, concerning the Succession to the  
Crown.*

EDWARD;

*Ex M. S. D. G. Petyt.*

WE whose Hands  
are underwritten  
“ten, having heretofore  
“many times heard the Kings Ma-  
“jesty, our most gracious Sov-  
“raign Lord’s earnest Desire and  
“express Commandment, touch-  
“ing the Limitation of the Suc-  
“cession in the Imperial Crown of  
“this Realm, and others his Maje-  
“ties Realms and Dominions; and  
“having seen his Majesty’s own  
“Devise touching the said Suc-  
“cession first, wholly written with  
“His most Gracious Hand, and  
“after copied out in his Majesty’s  
“presence, by his most high Com-  
“mandment, and confirmed with  
“the

“the Subscription of His Majes-  
“ties own Hand, and by His  
“Highness delivered to certain  
“Judges, and other learned men,  
“to be written in full order: do  
“by His Majesty’s special and  
“absolute Commandment eft-  
“soons given us, agree, and by  
“these presents signed with our  
“Hands, and sealed with our  
“Seals, promise by our Oaths and  
“Honours to observe, fully per-  
“form, and keep, all and every  
“Article, Clause, Branch and  
“Matter, contained in the said  
“Writing, delivered to the Judges  
“and others, and superscribed  
“with His Majesty’s Hand in six  
“several places, and all such other  
“matter as His Majesty by his  
“Last Will shall appoint, declare  
“or command touching or con-  
“cerning the Limitation of the  
“Succession of the said Imperial  
“Crown. And we do further pro-  
“mise

112 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
“ mise by His Majesty’s said Com-  
“ mandment, never to vary or  
“ swerve during our Lives, from  
“ the said Limitation of the Suc-  
“ cession, but the same shall to  
“ the uttermost of our Powers de-  
“ fend and maintain. And if any  
“ of us or any other shall at any  
“ time hereafter ( which God for-  
“ bid) vary from this Agreement,  
“ or any part thereof: We and e-  
“ very of us do assent to take,  
“ use, and repute him for a Breaker  
“ of the common Concord, Peace  
“ and Unity of this Realm, and to  
“ do our utmost to see him or  
“ them so varying or swearing,  
“ punished with most sharp pu-  
“ nishments according to their  
“ deserts.

*T. Cant. T. Ely Cane. Winchester. Northumberland.*  
*J. Bedford. H. Suffolk. W. North. F. Shrewsbury.*  
*F. Huntington. Pembroke. E. Clynton. T. Darcy.*  
*G. Cobham. R. Ryche. T. Chene. John Gate.*  
*William Petre. John Cheek. W. Cecil. Edward*  
*Montague. John Baker.*

Edward Gryffin. John Lucas. John Gofnald.

By

By these Evidences it will appear that what Faults soever may be charged on the Memory of the Duke of Northumberland, this of forging King Edward's *Testament* is none of them.

LXI. He says, *the D. of Northumberland obliged all Mary and Elizabeth's Friends to abandon them, and made them be kept as close Prisoners in Hunsden-Castle, as if they had been Criminals.* But these two Sisters were never so good Friends as to live together.

2. They were both so free with their Families, that Princess *Mary* was on her way to see King *Edward*, and on the Road she met the News of his *Death*.

LXII. He says, *It was five Months past from the time of Northumberland's Son's marrying L. Jean Gray, when K. Edward died on the sixth of July.* There was but five weeks past, for they were married in the beginning of June, but on what day of June it is not certain, for ought I know.

LXIII. He tells us, *that Northumberland concealed King Edward's death*

as long as he could: and that  
P. 314. some days after that, Jean  
Gray made a magnificent En-  
try through London, and then came on the  
War with *Queen Mary*. But this whole  
business lasted only nine days; from  
whence it is thought that the English  
Proverb of a *Nine days wonder*, took  
its beginning. So he ought to manage  
this time a little better: Indeed this  
Phantasm of Lady *Jean Gray*, as it dis-  
appeared soon, so it never had force  
enough to pretend to any Magnifi-  
cence: two days after King *Edward's*  
Death, she was conveyed secretly to  
the *Tower of London*, out of which she  
never came; for after a weeks Pagean-  
try of her *Queenship*, she was kept  
there till her Head was cut off.

LXIV. Mr. *Varillas*, who will al-  
ways discover the secretest springs of  
P. 315. mens thoughts, pretends to  
tell us, that the ground of the  
hatred that the Nation bore to  
the Duke of Northumberland, was his  
rendring of Bulloigne to the French.  
And here he tells us in his way, (that  
is, with an equal measure of Ignorance  
and Presumption) the various Refle-  
ctions

ctions that the English made on that matter. But as for the rendring of *Bulloigne*, it was indeed necessary, since the Forts that covered it, had been taken: and this having fallen out during *Somerset's Ministry*, the blame of this loss was laid wholly on him. 2. There were several *Sessions* of *Parliament* after that rendition, which fell out immediately upon the Duke of *Somerset's Fall*; and a new one was called in the end of this Reign, yet no complaint was ever made in *Parliament* upon that head. 3. The Duke of *Northumberland* was less guilty of it than any of the *Ministry*; for when the *Emperor* refused to assist them, the *Ministry* saw, that a War with *France* and *Scotland* was too great a load upon them in a Minority, in which their only considerable *Ally* failed them: so that they resolved to make a Peace by the rendring of *Bulloigne*: yet tho the Duke of *Northumberland* saw this could not be opposed, he absented himself for some days from *Council*, and so did not sign the Peace with the other *Privy Counsellors*, who signed it, and of which the Original Order was long in

116 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
in my Hands. For the Original *Council-Book*, in which all the most Important Resolutions were signed by the whole Board, had fallen into private hands, and was presented to me: but I delivered it in to the *Clerks* of the *Privy Council* to be preserved by them, with the care that is due to the most Authentical *Remain* of the last Age.

4. But as Mr. *Varillas* tells a false ground of the Aversion that the *English* had to the Duke of *Northumberland*, so he did not know the true ones; tho they are mentioned by all our Authors. He was excessively haughty, and violent; he was believed to be a man of no Religion: It was generally thought, that he had destroyed the Duke of *Somerset* by false Witnesses; he had now excluded the right *Heirs* of the *Crown* to set up his own *Son*; and which was beyond all the rest, in the spirits of the people, it was generally believed that King *Edward* was Poisoned by his directions: and here are grounds of a general dislike, that were a little better founded than that feigned one for the delivering up of *Bulloigne*, three years before: but a man that will needs be

a Writer of *History*, in spite of so profound an Ignorance, must ramble about for conjectures ; and if he has as little judgment as sincerity, he must make such as Mr. *Varillas* does.

LXV. He tells us, *That immediately upon King Edward's Death, Northumberland sent a body of Horse to seize on Queen*

*Mary.* But here his memory failed him too soon ; for he had but six Pages before said, that both *She* and her Sister *Elizabeth* were kept close Prisoners in *Hunsden* : so there was no occasion for seizing on her person.

LXVI. He tells us, *That Petre, Secretary to the D. of Northumberland, who was a Catholick, tho he had pretended to be a Cal-*

*vinist, that so he might raise himself, was prevailed on by the same Ambition, now to betray his Master : so he went himself, as soon as King Edward expired, to give Queen Mary notice of the design, that was laid against her : and he made such haste that he came to Hunsden two hours before the Body of Horse : so he being well known to those who kept her, was admitted to her, and he*

118 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth  
he not only warned her of her danger, but  
he found a way to convey both her and him-  
self away.*

Some body in Charity to Mr. *Varillas* should have told him, that there was at present a *Fjesuit*, in great credit in a certain *Court of Europe*, that is lineally descended from this *Petre*; yet to comfort him, tho those of that Order are not much celebrated for their great readiness to forgive, I am confident *F. Petre* will think him below his wrath, notwithstanding this injury that he does the memory of his Ancestor. I dare not say, his *Grand-Father*, lest he finds out, as he did in the Case of the *L. Darnly*, that he was his *Great Grand-Father*. I will not call this an *irreparable Injury*, to use Mr. *Varillas*'s terms in the case of King *Henry* the Seventh; for I do not think that he is capable of doing an *Irreparable Injury* to any body. But to return to *Petre*, he had been long *Secretary of State*, both to King *Henry* and King *Edward*, and so was not *Northumberland*'s *Secretary*. 2. He was always esteemed a *Protestant*, and was a virtuous and sincere man: if he was a *Catholick*, he was a very bad one: for

for his Family to this day feels what a great Estate he made out of the *Abbey Lands*. 3. He continued stile with *Northumberland*, and was one of those who signed the Letter to Queen *Mary*, in the pretended Q. *Jean*'s Name, ordering her to lay down her Pretensions. 4. He was removed from his Office of *Secretary*, as soon as Q. *Mary* came to the Crown: And here I lose sight of him, and do not know what became of him afterwards, or when it was that the *Family* was raised to the Dignity of being *Peers of England*. 5. It was the Earl of *Arundel*, that sent Queen *Mary* the notice of her *Brothers Death*, and of the design then on foot against her; for she was then within half a days journey of *London* on her way, to see her *Brother*; and it seems that *Northumberland* durst not venture on so hardy a thing, as the seizing on her, but he intended to make her come, as it were to see her *Brother*, and so to get her to throw herself into his hands.

LXVII. He says, *Northumberland had four things for him*; *King Edward's Testament*, *the Pupil* P. 320.

blick

blick Treasure, the Army, and the Fleet: but *Queen Mary* went to Norfolk, where She knew how much he was hated for his having sold *Bulloigne* to the French. But I have already shewed, that the Settlement of the *Crown* was not done by *Testament*, but by *Letters Patents*. And as at that time there was no *Fleet*, nor standing *Army* at all: so there was scarce any *Money* in the Treasury. 2. The Duke of *Northumberland* was indeed much hated in *Norfolk*, but not for the Business of *Bulloigne*; but besides the general Considerations, that had rendred him odious to the whole Nation; he had subdued the Insurrection of *Norfolk* of the Commons against the Gentry, and had been very severe in his Military Executions. 3. *Q. Mary* did not go to *Norfolk*: she went indeed very near it, but she staied still in *Suffolk*.

LXVIII. Mr. *Varillas* tells us, *That the Earls of Derby, Essex P. 321. and Hastings, were not Inferior in any respect, to those who had married the Lady Jean Gray's Sisters: so they declared for Q. Mary, on two conditions, the one was, that She should*

should never marry a Stranger: and the other, that she should make no change in matters of Religion; but tho' Q. Mary was absolutely resolved to observe neither of these; yet since there are few Examples of those who would lose a Crown rather than not promise the things which they neither can nor will observe, She promised all that was asked of her, upon which those three Earls being persuaded that they had provided sufficiently for Calvinism, took the Field with their Friends; and having assured all people that they had received a full Security for the established Religion, they quickly brought together an Army of 15000. Men.

Our Author is always unhappy, when he comes to particulars: for, 1. the Earl of Derby was a zealous Papist, and had protested in Parliament against all the Changes that had been made. 2. He had no hand in the re-establishing of Queen *Mary*, for the business was done before there was any occasion of raising the remote Counties. 3. There was no Earl of *Essex* at this time: for that Title was bestowed on none from *Cromwel's* fall,

till the exaltation of Queen *Elizabeth's* Favorite to it. 4. There was no Earl of *Hastings*: the Earl of *Huntington's* Son carries the Title of Lord *Hastings*: and our Author had bestowed on him L. *Jean Gray's* Sister. 5. The Earl of *Sussex* was the person that did the greatest service of all to the *Queen*, who is not so much as named by Mr. *Varillas*. 6. It was the People of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk*, that asked those assurances of the *Queen* in the matters of *Religion*; but it does not appear that any of the *Nobility* made any such demands. 7. Nor is there any mention made of their asking any Assurances of her, that she should not marry a Stranger. 8. The care that our Author uses here, in setting forth Queen *Mary's* Dissimulation, and her granting of Promises, that she never intended to observe, and the general Reflection that upon that he makes on *Crowned Heads*, looks as if he had a mind to cover the Infamy of some late Violations of Promises and Oaths, by shewing that this has been the way of *Crowned Heads* at all times: and perhaps this is to be a part of the *Panegyric*;

rick; but since Mr. *Varillas* had taxed the zealous *Catholicks* of *England*, as *Imprudent*, for laying down Arms upon King *Henry*'s word, why might not he have put the same Censure here, on those zealous *Protestants*, who took up Arms upon Queen *Mary*'s word; since as he sets out the matter, they had less reason to trust her, than the other Rebels had to trust her Father?

LXIX. He tells us, *That Northumberland marched against her with some old Troops, that he had ready: fancying that She was but 15000. strong; but he found She was 30000. strong: two parts of three of his Army refused to fight, and some went over to the Queen with flying Colours: so he was forced to return to London, reckoning that he was still Master of the City, and the Fleet: but at his return he found the Gates shut upon him; and that the City had declared against him, whose Example was followed by the Fleet. So seeing all was lost, he rendred himself upon discretion, ten days after he had Crowned Jean of Suffolk.*

This Section is as exactly writ as

the former; for 1. *Northumberland* had no old Troops, and he marched from *London* with 2000. Horse, and 6000. Foot, such as could be brought together of the sudden. 2. *Jean Gray* was never *Crowned*: She was only proclaimed *Queen*. 3. *Northumberland* never marched back to *London*, but seeing the *Queen's* Forces encrease, and that none came in to him, he came into *Cambridge*, and proclaimed *Queen Mary*. 4. It was not so much the *City of London*, as the whole *Privy Council* that declared for *Queen Mary*. 5. There was no *Fleet* then to change sides: For *Mr. Varillas* knowing nothing of the past Age, and only hearing that at present the *English Fleet* is the greatest in the World, he has this ever in his Head, and fancies that it was so at all times. 6. *Northumberland* did not render himself, but was apprehended as a Criminal by the *Earl of Arundel*, who was sent to seize on him.

LXX. He tells us, *That Northumberland was presently put in Irons*; but he retained so great a presence of Spirit, when he came to be examined before the Council, that *Mr.*

Mr. Varillas thought fit to set this out with all the Pomp that his Sublime could furnish : he puts Harangues in his mouth, by which he confounded the Privy Councillours, among whom he names the *Earl of Chieresberi*: but his Crimes being so notorious, he with his four Sons were condemned to die as Traitors. The Queen pardoned three, but was inexorable to the fourth: and when Northumberland saw there was no hope of Life, he declared that he had been only a Calvinist out of Interest ; and expressed a great detestation of that Religion, and of the Preachers of it : and suffered with a constancy that was admired by all that saw it : Those who suffered with him imitating his conversion ; this had a great effect on peoples spirits.

1. Men of the Duke of Northumberland's quality are never put in Irons in England. 2. He shewed so little courage, that he threw himself at the Earl of Arundel's Feet abjectly to beg his Favour. 3. Our Author confounds his being brought to his Tryal, before a Lord Steward, and the Peers of England, with an Examination before the Council: and his making the

Council condemn him, shews that he does not know the commonest points of form in the Government of *England*.

4. All this Constancy and arguing that he puts in *Northumberland's* mouth, is taken from two points in *Law* that he proposed to the *Peers*, that were his *Judges*: The one was, *Whether a man acting by Order of Council, and by Warrants under the Great Seal, could be esteemed a Criminal*: The other was, *Whether one that had acted so, could be judged by Peers, that had given him those Orders, and that were as guilty as himself*.

5. Tho these were points in *Law* that might have some colour in them, yet they were far from confounding any: for a *Council* or a *Great Seal* flowing from an *Usurper*, is nothing: so this Authority could not justify him: and as for those who were as guilty as himself, and yet were now his *Judges*; they were not convicted of the guilt: and no *Peer* can be set aside in a *Tryal*, upon general surmises, how true soever they may be. 6. I confess it was some time, before I could find out who this Earl of *Chieresbery* was. At last I saw it must be *Shrewsbury*, who should

Should have been a little better known to Mr. Varillas: unless he has read the French Story as carelessly as he has done the English; for the Illustrious Ancestors of that Family left such marks of their Valour behind them in *France*, that one should think that *Talbot*, Earl of *Shrewsbury* should be the Family of all *England*, in which a *French Writer* should be the least apt to mistake. And this confirms me in my Opinion, that Mr. Varillas has never read History.

7. There were none of *Northumberland*'s Sons tryed at that time, but his Elded Son the Earl of *Warwick*: for he had been called by Writ to the House of *Lords*, and so was to be tryed as a *Peer*: but the rest were Commoners, and were tryed sonic Months after this. 8. He makes Queen *Mary* less merciful than she was; for it was believed she would have pardoned both *Jean of Suffolk* and her *Husband*; if upon the *Rebellion* that was raised six months after this, it had not been then thought necessary to take to severer Councils. 9. It was believed at that time, that *Northumberland* declared himself a *Roman Catholick*, in

hope to save his life by the means. 10. His constancy was not very extraordinary; for there passed some severe expostulations between Sr. *John Gates* and him: who as they had been complices in the Rebellion, so now being brought to suffer together, they died reproaching one another. 11. It does not appear, that any other of those who suffered, changed their Religion. Nor 12. Is it likely that such a Declaration of men, who were so odious to the Nation, and who in the making of it, did likewise shew that they had made a small account of Religion, could have any great effect on those who saw it.

LXXI. Mr. *Varillas* will never give over his bold Quotations, for P. 328. where he tells us, *That Charles the fifth advised Queen Mary, not to proceed so hastily in the change of Religion; and that he believed she would find before long, that it would not be safe to her, to break her promise.* And to confirm this, he cites on the margin, *Charles the fifth's Letters to Q. Mary.*

This would make one that does not know the man, fancy that there was some Register or Collection of those Letters

Letters which he had seen ; I have indeed seen those Letters ; for the Originals of them are extant ; and I shewed them once to the Spanish *Embassadour* at *London*, *Don Pedro de Ronquillas*, who did me the honour to desire me to accompany him to the *Cotton Library*, where I not only shewed him these *Letters*, but as many of the other *Original Papers*, out of which I had drawn my *History*, as could be examined at one time : but for *Charles* the fifth's *Letters*, they are so little legible, and the Queen of *Hungary*'s hand is so little better than his, that I could not Copy them out, nor Print them : some little hints I took from them, but that was all. 2. It seems Mr. *Varillas* was not much concerned in Queen *Mary*'s breaking her word ; for in those *Letters*, that he makes up for *Charles*, all that he makes him set before her, is the *danger* of it, and that she could not do it long safe (*Impunement*) if she had a vast Army in any strong places, a great Fleet, and a huge Revenue, then the breaking of her word would have troubled Mr. *Varillas* so little, that it would not have hindred him from ma-

130. *Reflections on the Third & Fourth*  
king her *Panegyrick*: tho the violation  
of her Faith was so much the more  
scandalous, that those to whom she  
gave it, had settled her upon her Throne;  
and perhaps he will find somewhat  
parallel to this, to put in his *Panegy-  
rick*.

LXXII. He goes on with his Ro-  
mance, and tells us, *That Queen*  
*Ibid.* *Mary writ back to the Empe-  
rour a more Heroical Answer*  
*than can be found among all the Letters*  
*of the Crowned Heads of the last Age:*  
*She told him what Wonders of Provi-  
dence she had hitherto met with, and*  
*that therefore she was more bound than*  
*any other not to be unthankful:* and to  
conclude with a soft period, She said,  
*She would be guilty of as many Crimes*  
*as She lived minutes without acquitting*  
*her self of her duty.* These effects fol-  
lowed on those words: She repealed  
*by Anthentical Acts, all that had been*  
*done by her Father or her Brother, to the*  
*prejudice of the Catholick Religion:*  
*and tho She had reason to fear the Male-  
contents of some, who having lived long*  
*without Religion, would not willingly*  
*receive again that yoke which they had*  
*thrown*

thrown off, yet she reduced them all with more haughtiness, than the most esteemed and the most absolute Prince that ever reigned in England: She dismissed the Armed Companies that were about her; She renounced the title of Head of the Church of England, and re-established the Exercise of the Catholic Religion every where. And it is to be considered, that all this was done in the year 1553. and before Haviets Rebellion.

Mr. Varillas would make his Reader believe, that Queen *Mary* was a *Heroine* indeed; and he carries the character as high as he can, that so when he comes to write his *Panegyrick*, all the Praises he has bestowed on her, may give so much the more Lustre to his *Monarch*, who after all is to be preferred to her: for tho she excelled all the Crowned Heads of the last Age, yet she must come humbly and lay down all her Glory to enrich the *Panegyrick* of one of the Princes of the present.

2. Mr. Varillas would make us believe, that he saw both her Letters, and the Letters of all the other crowned Heads of the last Age; & I believe both is alike

true. 3. Those soft and melting Periods that he gives us out of her Letter, have a sort of an affected Eloquence in them, that may pass from a man like Mr. *Varillas*; but they have not that native Beauty and Greatness, that is the Stile of those that are *born to command*. 4. If our Author had examined *Queen Mary's Letters*, he would have found some of them of a far different strain: he would have found her acknowledg King Henry's Supremacy; renounce the Popes Authority; confess that her Mothers Marriage was by the Law of God and Man incestuous, and unlawful: he would have found her express her Sorrow for her former Stubbornness, and Disobedience to her Father's most just and virtuous Laws; and put her Soul in his hands; vowing never to vary from his Orders; and that, her Conscience should be always directed by him: And when her Opinion was asked of Pilgrimages, Purgatory, and Relicks, he would have found her declare, That in all these things She had no Opinion at all, but such as She should receive from the King; who had her whole Heart in his keeping, and might imprint upon it, in

in these and all other matters, whatever his inestimable *Vertue*, high *Wisdom*, and excellent *Learning* should think convenient for her. These were her strains, while she was yet a *Subject*, and under the yoke of a *Father*: And of these the *Originals* are yet extant. 4. All the Change that she made the first year of her *Reign*, was to abolish what her *Brother* had done, and to bring things back to the state in which her *Father* had left them: upon which *Cardinal Pool* writ her a Letter full of severe ex-postulations; for he said, *this was to establish Schism by a Law*. 5. Our Author represents all these changes as made of the sudden, before she dismissed the People that came up with her to *London*, and as if she had done all by her own Authority, whereas it was the work of three *Parliaments* one after another. 6. The *Queen* kept still her Title of *Supream Head of the Church*, above a year after this, and in two *Parliaments* that she called, she carried that among her other Titles, and in the vertue of it turned out *Bishops*, and licensed *Preachers*, besides a great many other Exercises of her *Supremacy*:

134 *Reflections on the Third & Fourth premacy*: So far was she from laying it aside at first.

LXXIII. Mr. *Varillas*, after he had diversified his *Romance* with P. 352. the intermixture of other Affairs, returns back to *England*, and lets us see how little the Queen was inclined to keep the Promises that she had made her Subjects: For the day after her Coronation, it appeared to the Curious, that she had made some Infractions in her Promises touching Religion; tho She had not yet been tempted to break the other. She ballanced indeed whether She should marry one of her own Subjects or not. *Card, Pool and Courtney, Earl of Devonshire*, were the only Two that were left of the Blood Royal. *Pool* had many great Qualities, which are set out as Romances paint their Hero's, as well as *Courtney's*: who was descended by his Mother from the House of York: He was beautiful, had a good meen, and was so well bred, that at two and twenty he was the most accomplished Cavalier of Great Brittain. He spake of the Chief Languages of Europe, and was very learned. His Mother had been *Queen Mary's Friend*, that never

never left her day nor night: And some have said that the Queen once promised to her, that she would marry her Son. But he adds, That the Queen had owned her Design for Pool to Cominendon: yet after all, Pool was near sixty, and Courtney was very loose: so this disposed her to the Match with the Prince of Spain, which Charles the fifth, who had projected the Conquest of France, desired extreamly, in order to the accomplishing of that design. A P. 361. little after this, he tells us, that both Pool and Courtney were equally near the Crown: Pool was the Grand-child of a Sister of Henry the Sevenths, and so he was of the House of Lancaster, but Courtney was the Grand-child of Edward the Fourth.

And now here are as many Faults as could be well laid together in so few words: 1. The Queen was not Crowned till the tenth of October, and long before that time not only the curious, but men as ignorant as Mr. Varillas, saw how little regard she had to her Promise for preserving the established Religion: Most of the Bishops were by that time clapt up in the Tower,

Tower, all preaching was prohibited, except by those who had the *Queen's* Licences ; and such as came to put her in mind of her Promises, were punished as Insolent Persons. 2. He says, She had not been yet tempted in the point of marrying a Stranger : yet in his *Preface* he had set her forth as entertaining *Commendon*, with her design for marrying the *Prince of Spain*, and he left her in *August*. 3. There were several others of the Royal Family, and in the same degree with *Cardinal Pool*, whose Posterities are yet remaining : These were the Earl of *Huntington's* Family, and that of the *Baringtones* in *Essex*. 4. *Cardinal Pool*, who died five year after this, was but 59. when he died. 5. *Courtney's* Mother was not of the House of *York*, but his Grandmother, who was *Edward the Fourth's* Daughter. A Mother for a Grandmother is as great a Fault as a Grandmother for a Great-grandmother, with which he reproaches me so severely in his *Answer* to my *Reflections*. 6. *Courtney* was so far from having any advantages of Breeding, that he had been kept a Prisoner thirteen years in the  
*Tower*.

Tower of London, ever since his Father was attainted. 7. His Mother was likewise all that while a Prisoner, and so had not those opportunities of being with the *Queen*. 8. Cardinal *Pool* was of the House of York, his Mother being Daughter to the Duke of *Clarence*, that was *Edward* the Fourth's Brother. 9. *Courtney* was so far from being vicious and lewd, that he was rather too fullen, which was imputed to his Imprisonment in his youth, that had made him melancholy and studious. 10. The pretence of a promise that *Queen Mary* gave to *Courtney's Mother*, to marry her Son, is by all other Authors put upon Cardinal *Pool*: but I believe both are alike true. 11. *Courtney* was not Grand-child, but Great-grand-child to *Edward* the Fourth. 12. It was believed at that time, that the *Queen* had really such Inclinations to *Courtney*, that if he had not by a strange coldness neglected her, applying himself more to her Sister *Elizabeth*, she would have married him: and that her hatred of her Sister, was increased when she saw to which of the two *Courtney* gave the Preference.

13. The

23. The Queen had only insinuated to Commendon her inclinations for Card. Pool.

LXXIV. Mr. *Varillas* tells us of one Sir Thomas Haviet, *P. 359.* zealous *Calvinist*, one of a great Family, and highly esteemed, both by the Nobility and the People, which he sets out in his Romantical way (very elegantly as he thinks, no doubt) and in a word, one that had all the Qualities necessary for the Head of a Party, except that of being of the Blood Royal. This Haviet then resolved to hinder the Match with Spain, and in order to the doing of it, he found it necessary to set up the Princess Elizabeth: and Courtney being set on by Rage and Jealousie, since he saw the Queen disappointed him, and was treating for the Spanish Match, joined likewise into Haviet's Conspiracy.

Most men besides our Author know the names of those of whom they undertake to write; but who would think that this *Haviet*, that has so large a part of this story assigned him, was no other then Sr. *Thomas Wiat*. that, as is pretended, owned that he had corrupted

corrupted *Anne Bullen*: and yet now he is made a Rebel to advance the Daughter, who certainly could never forgive so publick an injury as he had done her Mother, if our Author's former Story of him is true. Perhaps Mr. *Varillas* perceived this: and therefore resolved to give him here a new Name; for tho all the printed Histories make him Sr. *Thomas Wiat*; yet he will make him *Haviet*, tho this name is not so much as know in *England*. But *Haviet* may pass for *Wiat* as well.

as *Millethon* for *Maidston*, P. 362  
and *Camdavart* for *Southwark*, P. 366  
and *Quincethon* for *Kingston*. P. 367  
It is true, there is some sort of affinity between *Millethon* and *Maidston*; for they begin and end with the same Letter; and even that is much for Mr. *Varillas*. *Quincethon* and *Kingston* are more remote, yet an ill pronunciation, might make a man mistake the one for the other; for I have often taken notice of this, that Mr. *Varillas* has heard a great deal, but has read very little History: yet how *Camdavart* could pass for *Southwark*, is that which I cannot comprehend: and as little

little how *Haviet* was put for *Wiat*, if this last was not an Artifice of Mr. *Varillas*'s. But instead of following Mr. *Varillas* thro all his Impertinences, I fancy it will please my Reader better, if I mention some particulars of that business, which I drew from a Relation of the matter writ by Sir *Thomas Wiat*'s own Son, of which I give an account in my *Reply to Mr. Varillas*.

“Sir *Thomas Wiat*, tho the Duke of “*Northumberland*'s Kinsman, would “not join with him in the business of “*L. Jean Gray*: but proclaimed Queen “*Mary* at *Maidstone*, before he knew “that any others had done it: yet he “did not run to her for thanks, as ma- “ny others did: but she was so sensi- “ble of this Service, that she sent the “Earl of *Arundel* with her Thanks to “him, to which he appealed in his “Tryal. But he quickly saw how mat- “ters were like to go, so he had ob- “tained a pass to go beyond Sea: “which he had put in Execution, if “his Wife's being big with Child, had “not stayed him till she was brought “to bed. He had observed so much of “the temper of the *Spanish Ministers*, “when

when he was Ambassador in *Charles*  
the fifth's Court, that his love to his  
Country made him extream apprehensive of the Misery of the Nation,  
if it should fall under that yoke. He  
never so much as pretended that Religion was his motive: and Papists as  
well as Protestants joined with him: and if he had designed any mischief to  
the *Queen*, it was in his power to have executed it; for when he passed  
by *Charingcross*, *Whitehall* was ill defended: and many of the Earl of  
*Pembroke*'s men came over to him: but he marcht on to the City of *London*,  
having no other intentions but to concurr with them in opposing the  
Match: and the *Queen* her self was so fully assured that he designed no hurt  
to her, that she was resolved to pardon him, if a Message had not come  
from *Brussels*, upon which his Head was cut off. He never accused the  
*Queen's Sister*, tho he was one so entangled by Questions, that were  
put to him, that he answered some what that reflected on the Earl of  
*Devonshire*, for which he afterwards beg'd his pardon: and to shew that  
he

“ he had always vindicated Queen  
“ *Elizabeth*, he not only did it in very  
“ plain words on the Scaffold, but  
“ said likewise, that she was not privy  
“ to his Matters, as he had delivered in  
“ his Declaration made before the Privy  
“ Council. This account of that mat-  
ters, as it supplys some defects that are  
in my *History*, so it shewsthat Mr. *Varil-  
las* had told both the name of the per-  
son, and the History it self, alike true.

LXXV. He tells us, *That this*  
P. 362 *Haviet having made himself*  
*sure of the Town of Millethon,*  
*put off the Mask: and came up*  
*to Rochester, at the head of 1200. Horse*  
*and 8000. Foot: and was received into*  
*it the 22. of January, 1554. He intended*  
*to go on in great marches to London, but*  
*all this did not disorder the Queen, who*  
*put the Troops that She had about her,*  
*under the Command of the Duke of*  
*Norfolk, and of his Brother, that was*  
*Admiral of England: and ordered them*  
*to march in the very minute in which*  
*She received the news of the Insurre-  
ction, tho it was just at midnight on the*  
*22. of January. The two Brothers mar-  
ched, but four of their Companies re-*  
*votling,*

volting, and the rest being disheartned by that, the Brothers found it convenient to return back to London: where the Queen left nothing undone, that was necessary to animate or encrease her Army: yet She fearing left the Citizens of London should open to Haviet the Rochester Port, sent some to treat with him, and to assure him, that if the Spanish Match displeased the English, She would never think on it any more. But he asked such extravagant high terms, that all treaty was broke off.

But 1. This Haviet when he was strongest, and advanced to Mr. Varillas's Camdavart, was but 4000. strong in all: but Mr. Varillas is generous, and would bestow a good Army on him. 2. Those who have been in Maidston, will not find it a great matter to be sure of such a place. 3. Mr. Varillas comes pretty near the true Date here, but yet does not hit it; for it was on the 25. of Janary, and not on the 22. that Wyat came to Rochester. 4. His Ignorance of the Map of England must be suteable to the rest of his learning; since it is but a very short day's Journey from Rochester to London: and even his

his *bearsay*, which next to *Florimond* in his chief *Garand*, might have helped him here: since this is the part of the whole road of *England*, that is best known to Strangers. 5. Notwithstanding all the expedition that he makes the *Queen* use, some days past before She sent out any Troops, and so the Midnight march is spoiled, which no doubt he thought a beautiful stroke, and for which he has somewhat in parallel, perhaps to enrich the *Panegyrick*.

6. The *Queen* had no Troops about her, and all she could get together, was two Troops of Horse, and six Companies of Foot, with which the City of *London* furnished her: so she sent first a *Herald* to *Rochester*, to try if *Wiat* ( alias *Haviet* ) could be persuaded to return to his duty. 7. The Duke of *Norfolk's Brother* was never *Admiral of England*, nor did he go along with him at this time. 8. The *Queen* made no such abject Propositions to *Wiat* as he pretends; for she only sent some to see what it was that he demanded, and when he proposed very high Terms, they gave over all treaty with him: here the *Heroine* finks

sinks a little, perhaps this must be to hide some feeble stroak that must appear in the *Panegyrick*. 9. The Queen went indeed into *London*, and gave the Citizens very tender Assurances of the love she bare to her People, and that she did nothing in the Treaty for the *Spanish Match*, but by the Advice of her whole *Council*; but she never said that she would not think on it any more. 10. For his *Rochester Port* to the City of *London*, he will find it in the same Map, in which the Suburb at the end of the Bridg, on the other side of the River, is called *Camdavart*: for he has given us all these marks of it, and perhaps he found it so in some of those Manuscripts, that were communicated to him, under the confidences of Friendship: and I dare answer for him, that he will keep this Secret most Religiously.

LXXVI. He goes on, and says, that *Haviet stopt a little*; either to see what answer the Queen would send to his Propositions: or perhaps it was because his Troops were weary with a long march: in the mean while the Queen put matters in a most wonderful order: She sent

away the Spanish Ambassadors, who were an Eye-sore to her People: She called the Nobility and chief Citizens about her, and promised to them in a most pathetical Harangue, to call a Parliament, and not to take a Husband but by its Advice; by this She prevailed so far that the Citizens were contented to let all the Locks of the City Gates be changed, and to deliver the Keys to the Duke of Norfolk, which was the critical thing that saved all; so small a matter serves to preserve or to overturn Monarchies, where Heresie has once got in. So the Queen having by the efficacy of her Harangue, gained many brave men to come to encrease her Troops, She placed some on the Banks of the River to hinder the Rebels, who were now at Camdavart, from passing: and she drew up the rest at St. James's, which was the place where probably they would endeavour to enter the City: but Haviat finding the Bridg at Camdavart was cut by the Duke of Norfolk, left his Foot that were heavily armed, and marched with his light Horse to Quincethan, where he passed the River, having defeated 500 men that the Q. had sent thither to dispute the passage.

Every tittle here is Fiction, and the Fiction

Fiction is very ill contrived. 1. *Wiat* could expect no Answer from the *Queen* to his extravagant Demands ; for those whom she had sent to him, broke with him in very ill terms. 2. That Treaty was at *Deptford*, and instead of a long March from that to his *Camdavart*, it is but a short walk of an hour or two at most. 3. The *Spanisb Ambassadours* were never sent away ; here again the *Heroine* sinks. 4. She made no Promise to *call a Parliament* : but said only, that she would do nothing but by the advice of her *Council*. 5. It seems there is some Mystery in this, that Mr. *Varillas* makes the *Queen* as ready at all times to make Promises, as she was resolved to break them : now since Mr. *Varillas* writes History, not as he finds it, but as he thinks fit to dress it, there is some reason to believe, that in his representing Queen *Mary* so little *a Slave to her Word*, he had still his *Panegyrick* in his Eye. 5. If one apprehended any had Pick-locks to his House, the changing of Locks, and the looking after the Keys, were a very proper method ; but this is I believe the first time, that ever the security of a great *City* was thought to turn upon

such a matter : and Mr. *Varillas* may pretend to the Monopoly of this Secret in Fortification, since it is most certainly his own Invention. 7. If Mr. *Varillas* is so ignorant as not to know that *Gunpowder* was in use at that time, yet *Hatchets* and *Hammers* were always in use, and these are good enough against Gates and Locks. 8. The *Queen's* Troops could not well stand over against his *Camdavart*, to hinder *Haviet* passage ; unless they stood to the middle in water : for there is no *Key* there, the Buildings being continned to the Rivers side. 9. The *Bridg of London* was not cut, but only defended. 10. *Haviet* had no Foot heavily armed, but a Company of Countrey People brought together, and he marched with them all. 11 As our Author describes *St. James's*, it seems he fancies there is another Bridg upon the *Thames* there : but since *Haviet* had not Boats enough for passing, he could not cross the River lower than *Kingston Bridg* ; for the *Thames* is not fordable in winter below that. 12. *Kingston Bridg* was indeed cut ; but that was all the Opposition that he met there : yet as our Author describes it, it does not seem that he knew there was a Bridg there ; for he speaks only of *Crossing the River*.

LXXVII. But now to conclude the *Romance*, he tells us, *That Haviet broke thro the Queen's Army at St. James's, P. 367.* and advanced to the *Gate of the City*; but here, the new *Locks and Keys* did mighty service: for the *Gates* could not be opened, so he was forced to retire, but even that was no more possible for him to do, since the *Queens Troops* were in too good an *Order*, and *She her self* appeared at the *Head of them*, and did so wonderfully animate them, that in the end poor *Haviet* was taken, and 200 more with him, who were all led along with him to the *Execution*.

1. There was no resistance made to *Wiat* at all; for he marcht straight on to the *Gates* of the *City*. 2. Certainly by Mr. *Varillas*'s *Story* he was the *modestest Rebel* that ever was, who came and knockt at the *Gates*, and then went away, because the *D. of Norfolk* had the *Keys*. 3. If the *Queen's Troops* had been in such *order*, one would think they would not have trusted so much to their *Locks and Keys*, as to have suffered *Wiat* to go on to the *City Gates*. 4. Our *Author* is unhappy in every thing: for he did not know that which was set out as the most *Extraordinary part* of the *Queen's behaviour*; who did not come out and ride at the *Head* of her *Troops*, as he fancies; but it being *Ashwednesday* morning, *She* went on with the *Devotions* of the day, and continued all the morning at *prayers*. Mr. *Varillas* says nothing of this, for one or two reasons, either because he knew it not, or because he had not found out what was fit to be set against this in his *Panegyrick*. 5. It was per-  
haps

haps upon some other part of the same piece, that he was thinking, when he makes 200 to be taken with *Wat*, and all to be carried to accompany him to his Execution. For there were fifty eight persons that were attainted for the *Rebellion*; but there was only a small number even of those, that were pickt out to be made Examples: many of those that were condemned, being reserved to be Instances of the *Queen's Mercy*: and She was so far from delighting in Scenes of Blood, that her Clemency on this occasion was much magnified. To make every one of the Prisoners dye, comes nearer the severity of some later practices, than the Mildnesses of that *Princesses Reign*, who except in the matters of *Religion*, gave no cause to complain of the Rigor of her proceedings: She had not *Chief Justices* that hanged up *Rebels* by Hundreds, or that condemned them so suddenly, that they were to be led out immediately to Execution, such things were not then known in *England*: but She on the contrary, when 600 *Prisoners* were taken, was contented with their coming to beg their Pardons with Halters about their Necks, and gave them all their Lives. Her *Council* was wise: She designed to change the *Religion*, and therefore She thought the best way to recommend her own, was to shew the greatest readiness to forgive the most dangerous *Rebellion* that perhaps ever *Princess* went through. The hanging up of *Rebels* by hundreds, She knew well, would raise in the minds of her people a Horror against her and her *Ministry*, and against

gaihst her *Religion*; as if they had delighted in Blood. Since Cruelty in all persons has somewhat that is base as well as black. She was merciful in her own nature, and the Councils of that *Religion* were at *that time* better laid than to be capable of such Errors.

And now I have done with Mr. *Varillas's History*, and I fancy the world will have done with it likewise very soon. I dare answer so far for the *Tast* and the *Judgment* of the *English Nation*, as to depend upon it, that none of his works will be any more asked after there. I have kept my self as much within the temper of stile, that I thought became me, as was possible. I confess, it raises nature somewhat, to see a man of his Age, and that had, by I know not what chance, gained some Reputation in the world, employ his Pen with so much malice to defame our *Nation*, and our *Religion*: but by a curse peculiar to himself, his Ignorance is such an Antidote to all the ill Effects of his Malice, that his Writings can do no hurt, but to himself, and to his Printers. I thought a severe Correction was necessary, when he had now for a second time shewed that he was Incurable: and that the discipline that I had formerly given him, had not brought him to a sounder mind. And therefore if this goes a little deeper, it was the Inveteracy of the Evil, that forced me to it. Let men write truth as to matters of Fact, let them write it decently, and let them set themselves against my *History* as much as they will, I will answer them with all the

the Softness and Decency, that becomes a Man and a *Christian* : and I will either confess my Mistakes, if I am convinced of them, or discover theirs with that Gravity of stile, that is necessary: for to handle a man *without mercy*, tho not *without Justice*, (which was the censure that an Eminent person passed upon my former *Reflections* on Mr. *Varillas*) is a thing so contrary to my nature, that it must be a very Extraordinary provocation that can carry me to it. And I dare appeal to all men, even to those of the *Roman* persuasion, if the Venom and Folly that is spread over Mr. *Varillas*'s second *Volum*, does not justify all that Scorn with which I treat him. It must be confessed to be somewhat Extraordinary, that in an Age, such as ours is, and in a City such as *Paris* is, a man should undertake to bring in the *History* of a *Nation*, into his Work, concerning which he has so little Information, as neither to know the *Map*, nor the *Names*, the *Laws*, nor the *Government*, nor the most publick Transactions that are to be found even in the worst and cheapest Books; and yet the most amasing part of all is, to see this man write with such an air of Assurance, and to pretend to discover the profoundest Secrets. He that would desire to see very ill sights, if they are but extraordinary, would be tempted to go and look upon Mr. *Varillas*, and examine his Meen and his Phisiognomy a little; for certainly he is a man of the most singular Composition, that the present Age, or for ought I know, that any other has ever produced.



